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JOURNAL
OF THE
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No. XXV. Vol. IX.

ART. I.—*On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India.* By the Honourable Mr. Justice NEWTON, President of the Society.

Read 9th July 1868.

I HAVE been for some time deferring a review of our present knowledge of the line of sovereigns by which the northern portions of this Presidency were once connected with Parthia and Bactria, and through them with Greece, in order that I might be able to bring down our information to the latest date, and to record all recent additions that have been made to the evidence available for the discussion of the subject. I must not any longer delay to do this, and the time is a suitable one, as the interval which has elapsed since I last read a paper before the Society on the ancient dynasties of Káthiawár and Gujarát has been fruitful in discoveries of the highest interest. The anticipations in which I indulged when reading that paper, that further explorations in those provinces would be rewarded by substantial additions to our materials for tracing upwards to one of the Greek monarchies the dynasty of the Sás, have been already fulfilled, and fulfilled in such a way as to justify confident expectation of other valuable results.

The Society is indebted to our accomplished and indefatigable associate Mr. Bháú Dájí for a paper subsequently read respecting a pillar inscription at Jasdan, in Káthiawár, brought to light through his exertions; and having thus ascertained that the Sáh kings availed themselves of this mode of recording their exploits, we may now hope to hear of other inscribed pillars within the imperfectly examined territories once embraced in Saurashtran rule.

I refer to this inscription only to point out the confirmation which it gives to the arrangement of the Sáh series which I had previously deduced solely from the coins of the dynasty. The inscription supplies the names of five kings and their order of succession. The two first—Chashtana and Jaya Dámá—are kings of whose coinage no specimens have up to this time been published, and the three last are those to whom respectively I assigned the first, second, and third places in my list—Rudra Dámá, Rudra Sinha, and Rudra Sáh. These three are also stated to have been father, son, and grandson, as I had concluded, and the correctness of my inference, that the first of these is the monarch mentioned in the inscription at Girnár, has been demonstrated.

The coin of Rudra Dámá, which was thus the earliest of the series known in 1862, had borne the name of that sovereign's father, but the corrosion of nearly two thousand years had removed all trace of it. The inscription tells us that the name was Jaya Dámá, and also that this king was the son of Chashtana, thus leading us up to the oldest of the kings whose names are inscribed on the rock at Girnár.

I was enabled, on the occasion referred to, to lay before the meeting specimens of the coins of nineteen kings of the Sáh dynasty (four of these being unique), and thus to trace the line upwards by numismatic evidence to the point at which the information derivable from the Girnár inscription breaks off. I can now place before the Society, with figures and descriptions, unique coins of the other two kings named in the inscription at Jasdan—Jaya Dámá, the father of Rudra Dámá, and Svámí Chashtana, the father of Jaya Dámá. The latter of these is a copper coin, and belongs to Mr. Bháú Dájí, who kindly permits me to describe it, and the former—a silver coin and of beautiful design and execution—was obtained by me through a friend who has been collecting for me in Káthiawár.

The coin of Chashtana (figure 4 in the accompanying plate) has lost some of its interest through the discovery of the Jasdan inscription,

which decisively fixes his position in the dynasty of the Sáh kings, but it is still perhaps the most important, with the exception of one subsequently to be described, that we could have looked for in this Presidency. It is chiefly valuable now as showing us the type and character of the Sáh coinage at an earlier stage than that represented by any previously discovered specimen, and thus enabling us to trace these artistic coins still further upwards towards their parentage. It supplies also very weighty confirmation of the principle on which my arrangement of the series of Sáh coins was based. I inferred that a rayed sun had been the original emblem to the right of the central device on the reverse, and that as the execution of the coins deteriorated the number of the rays rapidly lessened, until they were replaced by a decreasing group of mere points in the coinage of the fifth sovereign then known, and of all his successors. On the coins of the third king in the list, Rudra Sáh, the sun had six rays, on those of the second king, Rudra Sinha, six, seven, and eight rays, and on that of the first king, Rudra Dámá, ten rays. In accordance with my inference, the coin of Chashtana, whom we know to have been Rudra Dámá's grandfather, shows a sun with sixteen rays, and delineated altogether in a higher style of art. The correctness of all the other tests for the serial arrangement of the Sáh coins discussed in my previous paper is similarly confirmed, and their application, if the Jasdan inscription had not been made available for our assistance, would, as in the case of the succeeding sovereigns, have led me to assign to Svámí Chashtana with relation to Rudra Dámá the place which he is known to have occupied. The weight of the coin is 23 grains, but several grains have been lost by chemical change and cleaning. The legend on the reverse is accurately copied in the figure, but I regret that I am unable to decipher it entirely. The whole, however, with the exception of the four letters enclosed below in brackets, may be read with certainty :—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa (Syamo ?) tika putrasa Chashtanasa
(dala ?) rumna.”

“Of Chashtana——the son of the king, the great Satrap (preserver
of the kshatris)—tika.”

It is clear that the name of the father of Chashtana was, like his son's, a foreign one, and I think it likely that the last word which concludes with the Páli genitive form was the attempted rendering of a foreign •

title or dignity. The coin is in other respects so similar to those of the earlier Sáh kings previously known that I need not remark further on its details. The legend on the obverse is not legible, but enough is shown to make me think that some at least of the Greek letters were correctly cut. The coin has evidently been a finer one than any other of the series that has yet been found, and the lines are everywhere, and specially in the hair, much more delicate. The obverse was not apparently inscribed with any date, the exergue legend having entirely surrounded the bust, as in some of the Bactrian hemidrachms. In these two particulars it differs from the coins of all the subsequent Sáh kings, and I conclude that the usage of dating the coins had not yet been established.

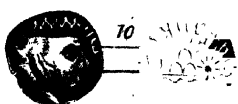
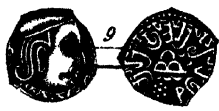
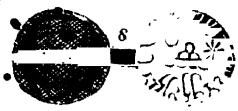
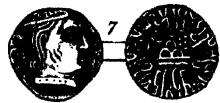
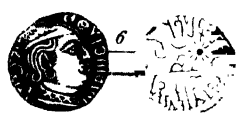
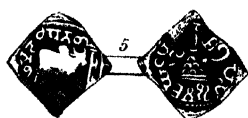
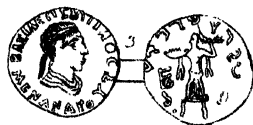
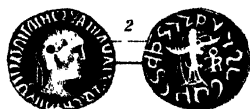
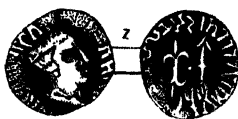
The coin of Jaya Dámá (fig. 5) has on the obverse a humped bull well cut, and a few of the debased Greek characters by which on the die it was apparently surrounded. In front of the bull is either a stake to which it is tied, or some other figure. On the reverse is the central pyramid found on all the Sáh coins, but it has six instead of three semi-circles, as on all the silver hemidrachms of the series. The two-half moons are one above and one to the left of this, as usual, and there is a circular sun to the right with traces only of rays. Round these emblems is the legend—

“Rājnah Kshatrapasa Jaya Dámasa.”

“Of the king, the Satrap, Jaya Dámá.”

Mr. Bháú Dájí permits me also to describe two other new coins which have lately reached him from Káthiawár. They are copied in the plate as figures 6 and 7. The former is a coin of Jiva Dámá, the last letter of whose father's name is clearly “S’rí,” and the others probably “Dámá,” though traces only of them remain on the coin: and the latter is a coin of Sangha Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh. Both have the ordinary Sáh emblems and characters, but the coin of Jiva Dámá is of interest as it is clearly of an earlier date than any yet discovered, except that of Svámí Chashtana, and possibly Jaya Dámá, of whose silver currency we have as yet no specimen with which to compare it. The sun has twelve rays, with space for two more, and all the other tests enumerated and discussed in my previous paper combine to show that this sovereign must have reigned before Rudra Dámá the son of Jaya Dámá, though subsequently to Svámí Chashtana. He must therefore have succeeded to the throne out of the direct order of succession, as the Jaskan pillar shows the lineal

Coins of Gujarat and Kathiawar.



descent of Rudra Dámá from Chashtana, without mentioning either Jiva Dámá or his father, whose name indeed, as well as Sangha Dámá's, is new to the series. There are remains of a date on Jiva Dámá's coin, and I read the former of the two figures with confidence as the numeral for 90, the second figure being the representation of six, or possibly five. This date, as well as the general character of the coin, leads me to conclude that this king immediately preceded Rudra Dámá. The coin of Sangha Dámá is interesting only as adding a new king to the list. On considerations before alluded to, he must be placed somewhere between the kings who stand as No. 3 (Rudra Sáh) and No. 7 (Dámá Jata S'ri) in my table of 1862, and until his exact position can be assigned with certainty, I insert his name next after that of S'ri Sáh No. 4.

The legends on these two coins are as under :—

No. 6. Rájno Mahákshatrapasa [Dámá?] S'riya putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Jiva Dámna.

“Of the king, the great Satrap, Jiva Dámá, the son of the king, the great Satrap, Dámá S'ri.”

No. 7. Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa (possibly Sinhasa) putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Sangha Dámna.

“Of the king, the great Satrap, Sangha Dámá, the son of the king, the great Satrap, Rudra Sáh.”

I have added on the plate, coins of Rudra Dámá (fig. 8) and of Svámí Rudra Sáh (fig. 9). The former is given, as it shows the name of the king's father, Jaya Dámá, which was wanting in the coin figured on the plate at page 3, vol. vii. of the Society's Journal; and the latter has been introduced as it testifies apparently to the adoption by the last, or last but one, of the Sáh kings of the title “Maharájá,” which has not before been found on any coin of the series, and thus completes the evidence of intimate connection between the Sáh and the Guptas, which was afforded by several coins copied on that plate.

The next coin is one of far higher interest—being indeed, unless I am mistaken, the most important with respect to its bearing on Indian history and chronology that has yet been discovered. I laid it before the Society some time ago, and shortly alluded to the results to which it was likely to lead. I must now describe it, and consider those results more in detail and more precisely.

We have long been acquainted with the name of Nahapána*. Its discovery in several of the cave inscriptions of this Presidency resulted immediately from the decipherment of the most ancient form of the Indian alphabet, and its importance was at once perceived. It is found in inscriptions, portions of which I translate below, at the caves of Násik, Kárlen, and Junir.* The name seemed evidently Parthian, and it was natural to connect it with the "Yavanas"—the Greeks—whose co-operation in the prosecution and endowment of these Buddhist excavations the inscriptions themselves acknowledge. The first rendering of some of these inscriptions by the Reverend Dr. Stevenson made Nahapána to be a satrap of a king Kshaharáta, but Mr. Bháú Dájí, after mature study of the original records, assigned to him the rank of a paramount king. Until the discovery of the coin our knowledge of this sovereign was limited to such information as is to be derived from these inscriptions, and the conclusions which we seemed justified in drawing from them may be stated as under :—

1. Nahapána was either a king or the satrap of some distant monarch.
2. His rule extended over a considerable area, including at least those parts of the Deccan already mentioned, as it is unlikely that his name would be recorded in monasteries within the dominions of other sovereigns.

* Translations of inscriptions at the caves of Násik, Kárlen, and Junir :—

At Násik—in Sanskrit :

"Peace. By Ushavadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

In Mághadi :

"Peace. In the year 42, month Vaisákha, by Ushavadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

In Mághadi :

"The cell, the religious assignation of Dakshamitrá, the daughter of Rájá Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapána."

At Kárlen :

"Peace. By Ushabhadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

At Junir :

"[Constructed by] Ayama, the minister of ————— Mahákshatrap, Sváuní, Nahapána."

3. He was a foreigner, probably a Parthian.
4. His relations to his subjects and the territories over which he ruled were nevertheless such that his daughter had a purely Hindoo name, and was married to a Hindoo the son of a Hindoo.
5. His daughter Dakshamitrá, his son-in-law Ushavadáta, and probably also his minister Ayama, were Buddhists or patrons of the Buddhists.

These circumstances would have had a high historical value as elucidating the position of Western India with respect to Buddhism and to the Parthian or Bactro-Indian Empire, if we had been able, even approximately—within a century or two, and with any reasonable confidence—to fix the date of the inscriptions which form our sole authority for the deductions stated.

The coin of Nahapána has been very carefully drawn on the accompanying plate (fig. 1). I was unable to ascertain the particular part of Káthiawár in which it was found. It is of silver, and its weight is 31 grains. The obverse has a well-cut bust facing to the right with fillet and ear ornament, and in the exergue a legend of which sufficient remains to show that the letters were purely Greek, although in consequence of original indistinctness, wear, or corrosion, not more than a single character here and there can be made out, and these hardly justify me in hazarding a conjecture as to the filling in. Additional difficulty has been caused by the circumstance—an ordinary one in coins of that time—that the disc of the coin was too small to receive the whole impression of the die. On the reverse are two central emblems, one of which is a spear or an arrow, and the other possibly a double-headed dagger, with an exergue legend in which the letters Nahapánasa (the ordinary Bactrian or Pálí genitive of Nahapána) are distinct, though nothing more can be deciphered. The characters are those of the rock inscriptions, the most ancient form from which the present Devanágari has been derived; and though a portion of the legend has fallen altogether outside the coin and some letters have been eaten away, a larger portion would be legible but for the artist's evident want of acquaintance with the character.

Now it is manifest at a glance that this coin adds materially to our knowledge of Nahapána's history and surroundings, for a mere inspection suffices to connect it with the coinages of the Bactrians and of the Sásas.

Before this coin came into my hands I had been led with increasing assurance, from a study of these two last series of coins, to expect that whenever the missing link might be discovered the derivation of the Sáh coinage would be demonstrated to have been, not from the Parthian, but from that of Bactria. The bilingual legends, the general type and facing of the busts to the right, distinctly pointed to Bactria, and as distinctly negatived a Parthian origin. The acquisition of Chashtana's coin, though it placed a clearly Parthian name at the head of the dynasty of the Sás, added in all other respects to the evidence that the Bactrian coinage was the type from which that of the Sás had been derived. I shall hereafter consider the significance of these apparently conflicting indications, and now only gather up the additional items of information as to Nahapána which his coin supplies.

I have figured on the plate beneath the coin of Nahapána, coins (Nos. 2 and 3) of the Bactrian Greeks Apollodotus and Menander. The obverse in each case is almost identical. On the reverse the emblems and the characters differ, but here again the evidence of intimate connection is of the strongest kind. Little can be argued from the change of central figures, for the new design is as distinct from any emblem found on Parthian coins as from those on coins of Bactria;* and we know that such changes were common even in the same dynasty, as for instance in the Gujarát and Káthiawár coinages of the Guptas. But the circumstance that there is an inscription in Indian characters, and, as we may with certainty infer from the inflection of the name, in the Páli—the language then in use in Western India—is scarcely less decisive than the resemblance of the obverse. The Parthian coinage supplies, I believe, no example of a bilingual legend. From beginning to end it followed its Greek original and bore a single legend in Greek. The same remark applies to the coins of the earlier Bactrian kings, who probably, even if there had been some occasion or inducement, would not have disfigured their beautiful tetradrachms with the characters of any language of barbarians. But in the later days of the dynasty, when the desire of

* I am not sure that the larger of the central emblems was not intended to represent the same figure—probably a tripod—as that found on many of the coins of Apollodotus (See *Ariana Antiqua*, plate IV. figures 17, 18, and 19). It is possible that the device is a warrior with a spear, as on the coins of Kodes, a related king of whom we know almost nothing (*Ariana Antiqua*, plate IX. figures 2, 3, and 5).

conquest or the pressure of their neighbours forced some of its members into Northern India, we find them deferring to their subjects by adopting on the reverse of their hemidrachms, which then constituted their chief currency, a translation of the obverse legend in the Bactrian, or as Professor Wilson has named it, Arianian, which was the language of the conquered country. This precedent is followed by Nahapána, and his coin therefore in this respect, as in all others, places him conclusively in the closest relation with the later sovereigns of the Indo-Bactrian dynasty.

But if the coin establishes the connection of Nahapána with Bactria, it supplies a further reason for concluding that he was of Parthian descent, and had relations with Parthia by bringing him into connection with the Sáh dynasty, and thus with the Parthian emblems,* the rayed sun and crescent, and with another name which is not Indian, but may with confidence be set down as Parthian—that of Chashtana. The difference in type between the coin of Chashtana and that of Nahapána is not much greater than that which may be noticed between the latter and the Indo-Bactrian coins with which I have compared it. It is indeed the coin in which both the other series meet, the connecting link, as I have before suggested. On Nahapána's coin we see, I believe, the first essay of the foreign artist to delineate the Indian alphabet: in Chashtana's time acquaintance with the character was perfect, while the art also which is visible in Nahapána's coin continued undeteriorated. I do not expect that any coin exhibiting the old cave characters will be found earlier than that of Nahapána, who on this account, as well as from the retention of his Parthian name, may be set down as the first of his race to invade and conquer the territories over which he ruled. Looking however at the progress which had been made between Nahapána's time and Chashtana's in the artistic representation of the Indian characters, as well as other differences observable, I infer without hesitation that an interval occurred between their reigns, which further research will probably fill in with two or three names. I will allude to only one of the points of detail on the coins which associate Nahapána with the Sás, but it is one which shows also, what is otherwise sufficiently manifest, the succession of the latter to the former. In a previous paper already alluded

* These emblems are found associated on many coins of the Arsacids. See Lindsay's *Coinage of the Parthians*, plate 3, fig. 51, 58, 59, 60; plate 7, fig. 27 and 28.

to I noticed the indications afforded by the coinage of the Sâhs that the art of coining had been introduced from without, and that as was to be expected under such circumstances progressive deterioration was visible from a date little subsequent to its introduction; and I then remarked on the presence of two small dots immediately behind the projecting point of the helmet, or fillet—as it now appears to have been originally—one being above and the other below it, on the coins of some of the earlier kings of the Sâh series. I could not then ascertain their meaning or origin, though there could be little doubt that, like the scarcely recognisable imitations of the bust and fire altar on the Indo-Sassanian coins, or the gradually decreasing number of specks which in the late Sâh coins take the place of the sun with rays on the coin of Chashtana, these two points also were the substitute for something on some still earlier coins which the artists had ceased to recognise, and became accustomed thus to represent conventionally. The coin of Nahapána clears up the mystery. On some of the Indo-Bactrian coins the two ends of the fillet encircling the head hang down below the knot behind as lines widening towards the extremities. Behind Nahapána's bust these ends appear in the form of rounded loops or bows slightly changed in position, one being above and the other below the point at which the knot is tied. These were immediately and very naturally replaced in the Sâh coinage by two mere points, the object delineated being no longer understood, and the Bactrian headdress of the king having probably been changed.

The limits of our knowledge respecting Nahapána having thus been increased to the extent which I have endeavoured to describe, I am now in a position to turn to the much more important information deducible from the coin as to the date to be assigned to his reign. The value to the Indian student of any reasonably approximate date about the times that we are considering can hardly be exaggerated, for he meets with none which are reliable and well determined in the early centuries of our era (and the complaint might be extended to others), except those which we obtain from the Greek historians and geographers. And the chief interest attaching to the coin of Nahapána is that by the connections which it establishes it enables us to apply the dates of the Græco-Bactrian dynasty, which have been ascertained with a considerable approach to accuracy, to the Buddhist excavations of Western India, and to the coinage of the Sâhs, while the latter, when once brought into relation with any fixed date, itself affords the means of

carrying our chronology forward through a course of Indian events for upwards of two centuries, through the deciphered numerals representing the consecutive years of some undetermined era which these coins bear on their obverse. The Greek date of Chandra Gupta (Sandra-cottus) has hitherto been our only fixed point of practical use for early Indian chronology. Arrian and the later Bactrians might have supplied us with others of the same character, but we have not been able hitherto sufficiently to connect their dates with the current of Indian history. I hope to show that in the coin of Nahapána we have the means of lifting the veil from Indian events at another point of time which may be approximately fixed, and thenceforward of carrying our reckoning onwards by applying two distinct methods of investigation to the materials which Indian research has accumulated.

We have inferred, then, that Nahapána was a Parthian, and I have shown that his coinage was a close imitation of that of the later Indo-Bactrian kings. On one hypothesis only can we account for these two circumstances, and that hypothesis fixes the time of his reign within limits which may be determined with considerable precision (I speak with reference to our present utter uncertainty), and which cannot be affected by any serious error.

There was but one short period of time within which, with reference to the histories of Parthia and Bactria, this concurrence of circumstances was reasonably possible. We may assume that no Parthian who had not ruled in Bactria or been intimately associated with the Bactrian monarchy would, when founding an empire in Saurashtra, have adopted the Bactrian rather than the Parthian currency as the model of his coinage. During a well ascertained and easily defined interval such association of Parthians with Bactria occurred, and it ended under circumstances which fully explain the fact that Bactrianised Parthians were driven down southwards to Gujarát and Káthiawár. The separation of the kingdom of Bactria from Syria dates from about 256 B.C., and the first of the Indian conquests of the Bactrians took place in about B.C. 200. These were extended and consolidated until the reign of the powerful Mithridates of Parthia, the sixth of the Arsacidæ, who a few years before his death in 136 B.C., on the pretence of avenging the murder of Eucratides, overran and to some extent subdued the territories of Bactria, penetrating even to the extreme Northern provinces of India. Lassen's date for this overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian provinces is 139

B.C. But the hold of the Parthians on Bactria was of short duration, as it was wrested from their grasp by the Scythians in the reign of Artabanus II. (Arsaces VIII.), and his successor Mithridates II., the cousin of Mithridates I. The inroads of the Scythian hordes on the Bactrian kingdom, commenced about 126 B.C., and its subjugation was completed by about B.C. 120. The Scythians, as we know from the evidence of their coins, as well as from the Greek and Chinese writers, shortly afterwards spread southward to the Punjab and Upper India, but we need not follow them further. It is sufficient to have ascertained that during some fifteen years before the Scythian conquest of Bactria it was subject to Parthia, a fact for which we have the authority of Justin and Strabo, as well as the less weighty account of Diodorus, and perhaps Orosius, though the interval was so short that it was overlooked by Trogus Pompeius, who attributes the destruction of Bactria directly to the Scythians without the intervention of Parthia. Within this brief period, then, there must have been Parthian satraps of the Arsacidæ or Parthian adventurers exercising rule in Bactria; and I suppose that one of these, through whom his title to sovereignty descended to Nahapána, retired before the Scythian conquerors into the Indian possessions of the successors of the Indo-Bactrians Demetrius, Agathocles, Menander, and Apollodotus. From these provinces alone he could have carried with him still further south, when driven onwards by the still advancing Scythians, the bilingual type of coinage, and the artificers who cut the die for Nahapána's coin. That we are left to inferences as to these events, though it may be regretted, is not to be wondered at. We can expect no indications except those which coins may supply of any incidents that befel the dynasties to the eastward who were cut off from Parthia by the overwhelming Scythian hordes. Several indeed of the Indo-Bactrian kings we know only from their coins, and the only records of the entire dynasty of the Sáhs are the coins of twenty-five sovereigns, and the names of five of these given in two inscriptions in Káthiawár.

In order to fix the date of Nahapána's reign, it remains only to determine the time that may have elapsed between the striking of his coin and the reign of the latest Indo-Bactrian kings. We have historical testimony to circumstances which will account for the expulsion of a Parthian ruler from Bactria, and for his being brought into contact with the Indo-Bactrian sovereignties stretching to the eastward and southward, and probably subjugating them and adopting their

currency.. For anything more we must rely solely on the testimony of the coin; but this is valuable, and in my opinion decisive. No purely Bactrian coins could have been struck later than B.C. 120, and no known coin of the Indo-Bactrian Greek dynasties later than some 20 years afterwards, or B.C. 100: the latest of these coins are in type almost identical with that of Nahapána, and it is inconceivable therefore that it could have been separated from them by any long interval during which no mints were at work. The resemblance is so remarkable that but for the change of legend on the reverse from Bactrian to Pálí, we should have been justified in determining the succession of Nahapána to have been almost immediate. That change however indicates the lapse of at least several years; for Nahapána, or those from whom he received his throne, could not have reached the northern part of this Presidency without conquering all whom they met with on their line of march; and, however closely they in turn may have been pressed on by the Scythians, time must have been occupied in this invasion or retreat. Time too must be allowed for the consolidation and pacification of the new Saurashtran kingdom and extensive surrounding districts before a new coinage would be thought of, and much more before the necessity or propriety of a legend in the language of the conquered people would be felt and admitted. An interval of at least twenty years appears to me to be called for by these considerations, and the earliest limit which I would thus assign to the coin of Nahapána is B.C. 80. On the other hand, looking at the type and workmanship of the coin, I cannot conceive the possibility of an interval in excess of fifty years. I cannot conceive the exhibition of so high a degree of art by any but imported artificers, and I cannot conceive the exhibition of this particular type and style of art otherwise than by artificers from Bactria or from the Indo-Bactrian provinces—artificers who had been conversant with the numismatic art which had there become indigenous. It should be remarked, too, that the coin of Nahapána and its Bactrian prototypes are of the same weight—Nahapána's is 31 grains, while that of Apollodotus, with which I have compared it, weighs 30;—whereas the Sáh hemidrachms, after a very short interval, dwindled down to 27 and 24 grains. This lower limit of fifty years would bring us down to B.C. 50. It is possible that Nahapána's may have been a very long reign, and that he may have coined money only towards the end of it. The extent of his dominions as shown by the inscriptions, and the peaceful character

of the time as testified to by the spread of religious institutions, support the former supposition ; and the latter accords with the discovery of a single specimen only of his coinage, which shows that, as compared with that of several of his successors, it must have been very small.*

I have not considered it necessary in this argument to discuss the possibility that a Parthian coming directly from Parthia may have adopted the Bactrian instead of the Parthian model for his currency in newly acquired dominions up to that time without a coinage, for such an occurrence is against all probability. I have assumed also that the Indo-Bactrian kings ceased to coin money very shortly after the subjugation of Bactria proper, as we find no later specimens of their coinage to which a date further removed from that event than by some twenty years can reasonably be assigned. The Scythians on passing beyond Bactria adopted, as I have argued that any Parthian ruler driven out of Bactria would have adopted, a bilingual inscription, but it is needless for me to show that Nahapána could not have copied his coinage from theirs, as the type differs materially, the metals used are different, no coins of the Indo-Scythians are found within the limits of Nahapána's kingdom, and the Parthians (in which term I do not include those called Parthians by the author of the *Periplus*) are not known to have come into contact with the Indo-Scythians after the latter had commenced to issue a coinage. One other objection only occurs to me, that Nahapána may

* Since this paper was written, I have noticed in Professor Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* the following striking confirmation of the inferences which I have drawn as to the state of things which in the neighbouring provinces followed immediately on the Scythian subjugation of Bactria:—

“The aggressions of the Parthians, however, no doubt combined with other causes to produce a state of general confusion, in which different members of the reigning dynasty or mere military adventurers erected petty independent principalities. It is in this way only that we can explain the existence of the many Greek princes whose names are preserved in the Bactrian coins, and who are posterior to historical identification. They flourished in all probability in the brief interval that separated the death of Eukratides, about B.C. 155, from the total subversion of the Greek Bactrian kingdom by barbarians. This event is dated upon good authority B.C. 127, leaving therefore no more than twenty-eight years for the several dynasties. This, however, can be true only of Bactria proper. The Indian branches from the Bactrian stock must have survived this event, and we may not much err in deferring their extinction till some fifty years before our era, leaving about a century for the total extinction of the relics of Greek domination on the confines of India.” (*Ar. Antiq.*, 266.)

at a later date have resuscitated a currency on the type of the coins of Menander and Apollodotus, for the author of the work last mentioned (the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*) informs us that they circulated in Barygaza, the ancient Broach, at the end of the first century of our era ; but it seems to me a sufficient answer, that if the coins were still available for imitation, it is unlikely that any monarch would at that distance of time have selected them as his models, and certain that, after an interval of two centuries without any new coinage, no artificers could have been found to produce such a coin as that before us.

If the evidence which I have arranged and reviewed justifies us, as I believe it does, in assigning to Nahapána a date falling within the earlier half of the first century B.C., the conclusion is, as I have before said, a very important one. To have fixed his date within a century or two would have been an object of great moment, for the date of many other events necessarily follows with more or less exactness from its determination. The conjectures as to the dates of our cave temple inscriptions have hitherto differed by several centuries, whereas if the inferences stated in this paper be correct, the dates of those in which Nahapána is mentioned are directly ascertained within a few years. And if a reliable date can be assigned to one set of inscriptions, it will not be difficult to determine the sequence in point of time of the others ; for the characters in which they are written were undergoing modifications during the time occupied in the excavations, and we can with certainty distinguish the older from the more recent forms of the alphabet, and also with some confidence roughly estimate the lapse of time represented by the various amounts of change. This is a labour, however, which has not yet been entered on, and which cannot to any extent be anticipated here. The inscriptions at a single set of Buddhist caves are manifestly not all contemporary, and there is besides a good deal of difference in the dates of different excavations. The alphabet of each set of caves and of corresponding groups of inscriptions compared with that in use in Nahapána's time will give us the means of fixing with sufficient accuracy the sequence of the particular works, and the intervals which corresponded with the progressive changes in the character. This work I hope Mr. Bháú Dájí may be induced to take up, for I know no one else qualified to do it satisfactorily. It can hardly be effected by one who has not himself examined most of the inscriptions on the spot ; for though the Society has copies and fac-similes, and others are published, some at least of these are

wanting in that accuracy which for such a purpose as this is indispensable. A personal examination would specially assist to eliminate peculiarities of the locality and of the individual writer, and to determine the degree of substantial modification. By this process the approximate dates of other events recorded in the inscriptions may be obtained, and from these again the dates of other incidents in Indian history with which they are interwoven.

The Sáh coinage, brought into relation with Nahapána, offers facilities, as I have already hinted, for further research of the same character in another direction. If we have a fixed point for Nahapána's reign we shall fall into no serious error with respect to the dates of all the succeeding members of the Sáh dynasty, now that Mr. Bháú Dájí has given us the key to the numerals on their coins. We thus obtain the date of the Sáh inscription at Girnár, and, through it, of the transactions in surrounding provinces which it commemorates; but I must not enter on this subject further. As to the sequence of other dynasties, it will, I believe, become more and more apparent, as research proceeds, that there is no evidence so significant and so reliable as that supplied by a study of the types of their coinages.

It is an interesting result of this inquiry that it places Nahapána very near the commencement of the era of Vikramáditya, which on entirely distinct reasoning I inferred in 1862 to be that in which the Sáh coins are dated. I was too well aware of the slender grounds on which the inference was based to be much influenced by it, and have consequently meantime been looking rather for independent testimony than for any confirmation of it. I may hope therefore that I have not been led by a mere coincidence to the same result by the two different lines of investigation. I have on neither occasion come to a conclusion different from Mr. Bháú Dájí's without much consideration, but I have the satisfaction of knowing that in his opinion my present inferences with respect to Nahapána can be assailed only by questioning the correctness of the date ordinarily assigned to Menander and Apollodotus.

Did the Samvat era originate with Nahapána? it may be asked. I see no sufficient reason for supposing this, though his influence and renown must manifestly have been great throughout the western portion of the continent. Rather it seems to me that, as in other matters, so

here, his successors may have consulted and deferred to the sentiments of their Hindoo subjects in adopting the era which dated from the defeat by Vikramāditya of their enemy and his—the Saythian.

I must close with a few very brief remarks on the extent to which our previous knowledge of the Sáh dynasty has been affected by the issue of this inquiry.

The dates of the nineteen kings enumerated in my paper of 1862 remain the same, extending as then stated from A.D. 30 or 40 to 240 or 250. We have now however to add seven kings to the list, which will therefore stand as under :—

1. Nahapána, B.C. 60 or 70.
2. The unknown King whose coin is given as figure 10 of the plate.
3. [Syamo?] tika.
4. Chashtana, son of (Syamo?) tika, B.C. 10 or 20.
5. Jaya Dámá, son of Chashtana.
6. Jiva Dámá, son of (Dámá?) S'rí, A.D. 38.
7. Rudra Dámá, son of Jaya Dámá.
8. Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, A.D. 45, 47.
9. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha.
10. S'rí Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh.
11. Sangha Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.
12. Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha.
13. Yas'a Dámá, son of Dama Sáh.
14. Damajata S'rí, son of Rudra Sáh, A.D. 97.
15. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.
16. I'svara Datta.
17. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh, A.D. 115.
18. Damajata S'rí, son of Dámá Sáh.
19. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Dámá, A.D. 131, 141.
20. Visva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh, A.D. 143.
21. A'trí Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, A.D. 153, 157.
22. Visva Sáh, son of Atrí Dámá, A.D. 160, 168.
23. Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jiva Dámá, A.D. 173 or 213.

24. A's'á Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.

25. Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Rudra Dámá, A.D. 223, 235.

26. Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Staya Sáh.

Where specific dates are given in this list for the kings subsequent to Chashtana, they are taken from the coins on the supposition that the era was that of Vikramáditya.

The inscriptions do not tell us that Nahapána had a son, and I have not inserted the name of his son-in-law, as he is not shown to have succeeded to the sovereignty. Chashtana's father is added to the list as his titles on his son's coin show that he was a king. Though no coin intermediate between Nahapána and Chashtana has yet been found, I am sure that many years intervened between them. The difference of type and execution observable between their coins is certainly greater than that which exists between that of the former and the coins of the Indo-Bactrians. I have therefore adopted a longer interval, and hope that coins of at least two or three kings between* Nahapána and Chashtana may yet be found. It does not appear that Nahapána's or Chashtana's coin bore a date, and it is almost certain that none was marked on the copper coin of Jaya Dámá. If the interval which I have placed between Nahapána and Chashtana and the reigns which I have assigned to Chashtana and Jaya Dámá be considered too long, I should be led to shorten these rather by assigning to them and all the subsequent sovereigns of the Sáh series earlier dates than by bringing down Nahapána to a time further removed from the Indo-Bactrians.

I see no reason to modify in any respect the results arrived at in my paper of 1862 as to the succession of the Guptas to the Sáhás, the Valabhí kings to the Guptas, and the Indo-Sassanians to the Valabhí line.

The limits of the Gujarat sovereignty in Nahapána's time must now be extended beyond the territories which I was enabled in the paper above referred to to assign to the dominion of the Sáhás. The extent

* Since this was written, Mr. Bháú Dájí has received from Káthiawár the coin engraved as No. 10 in the plate, the type and characters of which lead me to assign it to this interval. The name of the King is lost, but the concluding letters show that it was not Hindoo. The title "Kshatrapa," simply "Satrap," is clear.

however of the districts held in subjection probably varied from reign to reign, and we have still no evidence which so conclusively shows the continued retention by the dynasty of a distant province during a long period as the discovery which I previously reported of their coins at the site of an old town near Karúr, on the banks of the Krishna.

We cannot now, I think, expect to have more light thrown on the origin of the titles Kshatrapa and Mahákshatrapa, which appear to have originated with Nahapána, and were continued by every member of the Sáh dynasty. Nahapána or his predecessors may have governed in Bactria or the neighbouring regions as the satraps of a distant monarch, but this supposition is not a necessary one. The designation doubtless at first implied that the power exercised was delegated, but after a time, in common with other similar titles, it must have come to be looked on as indicating authority only and not subordination. We may, therefore, I think, conclude that Nahapána himself was probably an independent sovereign, and that his successors who retained the title for more than two centuries certainly recognised no superior.

ART. II.—*The Ratna Málá.* Translated by the late Honourable
Mr. ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES.

Read before the Society by the President, the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton,
18th February 1868.*

RATNA MÁLÁ.

(Jewel First.)

Praise to Shrimat Guru—Now I write Ratna Málíká.

Good, giver of all excellencce,
Saraswatí ! Who sportest with words,
Be thou kind to me, ever
Fulfil all my hopes. [1.]

Thy servant's salutation, merciful mother, in mind retaining, grant
courage, strength, cleverness, O ! daughter of Brahma !
From out the sea of jewel words, good Poets of former days, many of
them, obtained a jewel-book, by thy aid, Protectress of the poor !
I also, hearing that matter, am aspiring openly, O Mother ! to a jewel,
thus the former poets' course attaining.
To thee adhering, for good men and learned, my own name preserving,
make I Ratna Málíká. [2.]

[* Note.—It is right to state that this translation is printed exactly as I find it. It was made in 1849, and has never been revised.

Probably the talented translator would have desired to add to it, though unnecessarily, the following note which I find attached to his translation of the Prabandh Chintámaní :—

“ Mem. : In case this book should come into other hands, I, note that the translation has no pretension to correctness. It has been made entirely for my private use.

A. K. FORBES.”—H. N.]

Ratna Málíká, this, on his neck if any man wear it,
 His brightness will increase without limit, happy, every day, he.
 The land's lord will give him honour, in his own and in foreign countries
 he will be served.
 Such the man, sit he where he may, thither with haste will great ones
 come !
 The poet, the assayer of jewels, will know, " A jewel without price is
 this."
 There is not a jewel besides, seen, or heard of, in three worlds com-
 parable to this. [3.]

The poor, the filthy, the void of beauty, if enduring affliction he obtain
 this,
 Allayed, immediately, will be every suffering, happiness to his heart's
 desire will be obtained ;
 Great and rich men, affection on him will much set,
 Fame, will increase in every country, the country's jewel he will be
 called.
 Not thieves, fire, the king's punishment, are to be feared. This jewel
 is indestructible.
 Placing it on his throat, if any bear it in mind, it remains always with
 him. [4.]

To whatever extent any one keeps it on his neck,
 To that extent wealth's lord is he.
 Equipment (lit : bundle) money, food who takes,
 Success proportionably in travelling will obtain. [5.]

The powerful man's splendour will increase,
 Shine it will as the Day-causer.
 He who has no money, to him a subsistence,
 Such is this priceless work. [6.]

The fame of Sidhrájjesinh,
 Of all books the essence,
 Read it or hear it, whatever man may, he
 Will obtain wisdom without limit ! [7.]

Seated wherever is the learned company, its indestructible joy this book will increase.

Forgetting the good road if any be the false road travelling, the darkness of his wrong-mindedness destroying, it will place him in the right path.

It shortens the days of the unhappy. To him who is hopeless * his own soul it exhibits.

This garland of jewels with pains taking, if any set in the gold of his wisdom (mind). [8.]

Thus reflecting,
With inward love,
Hari in heart retaining,
Filling with good joy, [1.] †

He made this book,
He gave poets a path,
He took it churning the sea.
Powerful one ! live long ! [2.]

Repeat, sensible man !
Destroy the calamities of life,
Assuage heart-sorrow,
Withdraw from the stream of evil-mindedness. [3.]

* *Note*.—*i. e.* as regards the affairs of this world, but employed in religious meditation.

Better thus—

“ To those who are desireless, their own souls’ form it realises.”

† [The breaks in the numbers indicate changes in the metre. Neither the manuscript however (which is followed), nor the translation, shows these with accuracy.—H.N.]

In heart desire happiness !
 Continue in good conduct,
 Ever listen,
 Pronounce with love.

[4.]

Enjoy happiness (prepare the enjoyment of),
 Regard heaven,
 Dismiss inward grief,
 Shine as if without disease.

[5.]

Your reputation will increase,
 You will mount an elephant to ride,
 Money and grain will increase,
 You will obtain clothes.

[6.]

Your name will last in the world,
 You will attain your objects,
 You will burn the seat of calamity,
 This book is the residence of good qualities.

[7.]

Ignorance will fly away,
 Wisdom will dwell in the inward parts.
 As the sun that shines in the sky,
 So will your fame appear.

[8.]

Dressed in sixteen ornaments, a woman without a chandlo* does not appear beautiful.

If a man put on clothes, without a turban he does not appear handsome.

A marble-built water reservoir, without water is of little repute.

The night-lord absent, the night-food, without ghee, is valueless.

If a learned man examine all ways of books, but read not Ratna Málá,
(he is)

As a very splendid temple built, which shines not without a Shikhar
(a spire).‡ [1.]

As he who churning curds extracts the ghee, abandoning the butter-milk,

As he who, squeezing sugar-cane, expresses the juice, but does not preserve what is left and take it,

As from dust gold is extracted but the extractor throws the dust away,

As from the husk a man takes the grain, or from the sesamum oil,

Examining the way of all books, good compositions and true,

Thus this book, Ratna Málá by name, the writer has well composed. [2.]

As a man who bathes in the sea, has performed all pilgrimages,†

As a man who gives the gift of life gives all gifts,

As a man who abandons care for the wives and wealth of other men
has kept all vows fully,

As a man who obtains Amrit for food, forgets all other tastes,

As one may be believed to possess all wealth who possesses the Chin-támaní,‡

So a man has learned all ways of books, who has received the Ratna Málá in his heart. [3.]

* [The painted mark made by females on the forehead.—H.N.]

† Pilgrimages being to Ganges, and other rivers flowing into the sea.

‡ [A gem supposed to yield to its possessor all that he may desire.—H.N.]

As a man who has travelled in his own and other countries, but has
not been celebrated in song of poets, has risen nothing,
So he who has read many books but has not read this book, has read
nothing at all. [1.]

A dog even sits in a litter, a parrot even looks incomparably beautiful :
The lord of the forest is very strong, seeing whom men fly away :
The mighty elephant is tall and stout, in *must* he moves proudly and
eats whatever his mind desires :
He who knows the way of books is he who may be said to possess the
manliness of a man. [2.]

All that is delightful in hearing, the causer of cessation to the circling
of existence, the diminisher of sin,
Such language, with the fame of kings, composing, I give voice to,
destitute of fault.
A foolish man reads it not. He fears seeing great words.
By this road the man who is eminent ascends, he reads it year by year.
In the world the Almighty, who is the helper of the helpless, the des-
troyer of deceit, pleased will ever remain.
By reading it fame will be increased, cleverness which cannot be esti-
mated will increase, at no time will loss of fame occur in the world.

My wisdom is not great :
I have the hope of attaining great exaltation.
Recollecting that you have taken me by the hand,
Saraswatī, be my aid ! [1.]

The hand of the woman is in the hand of the husband,
The servant's in his lord's,
The son's in his father's, the Poet's
In the hand of the Hans-rider.* [2.]

[* Bramha.—H.N.]

Having taken hold by the hand, he abandons not,
 The great one who feels shame ;
 The snake, poison, fire, the crescent,
 Shankar retains.

[3.]

The bad woman abandons her paramour when money fails.
 The deceitful man abandons friendship, having obtained his object he stands aloof.
 The son abandons the mother, enthralled by his own wife.
 The bad disciple abandons his teacher, once educated he looks not towards his guru.
 The giver of food is abandoned by the low, the irreligious, the filthy (in mind).
 The ungrateful to him whose salt he has eaten does not share in the calamities of his lord.

[1.]

How can a woman of good family desert her husband, though poor and sick ?
 How can a friend abandon his friend in happiness or sorrow ?
 How can a son abandon his father if he has any shame in his heart ?
 How can a disciple abandon his guru ? He will feed him before he eats himself.
 A saheb will not abandon him whose hand he has taken hold of, nor will the poor man abandon him.
 If one day only he has eaten his food, for ever in calamity he remains immovable.

[2.]

My saheb is Sārdā*,
 Who has taken hold on my hand.
 She will not abandon me,
 I will not abandon her.

[1.]

Great is the Cholak * race's fame,
The Kavi's mouth is small,
How can the whole praise be given ?
The road is unknown.

[2.]

Former poets have composed praises,
Easy to travel on have they made the road.
As in a diamond-cleft-pearl
The thread found entrance.

[3.]

By whose kindness the dumb
Can discourse verses and poetry,
By whose kindness he who is without a hand
Can raise a huge mountain,
By whose kindness he who is footless
Can leap over the sea and return,
By whose kindness the blind
Can obtain countless divine eyes,
By whose kindness
People who were ignorant became poets,
That Sárdá Mother ! do thou ever be kind
To me, thou residing-place of kindness.

[1.]

In the world three kinds
Of Poets exist always ;
Best, middling, and worst Poets.
I will explain the measure of them

[1.]

The best sings Hari's praises,
The middle sings of men,
The worst is full of faults,
Without skill in the Shastras.

[2.]

Splendid is this poem the chronicle of kings.

With zeal understanding the Gita I have made it.

“The king’s body is his own body,” as S’ri Krishna Hari said ;

Therefore with zeal I have sung of king’s fame.

Formerly the writer of the Mahábhárata kings’ praises good and
excellent

Recited ; he, I mean, who is known as the receptacle of understanding.

Destroyer of sin, this book, knowing it to be without sin,

I recite zealously with pleasure of heart.

[1.]

Some quitting the nature of Dev put on the bodies of men,

Some assume again the nature of men,

Some from animals and birds become men,

These three kinds, many of them inhabit the earth.

The conquerors of their senses, the kind-hearted, are free from anger
or avarice,

Deceit in their hearts they keep not. Falsehood at any time they speak
not ;

God’s fear they wear on their heads ; by night and day they fly from
sin.

What they say they perform, seeing them, wicked women fear.

Oath breaking they with their body never commit.

In the field of battle they front their foes.

They give presents to Poets, treating them with respect.

Such are they who possess the qualities of Devs.

[1.]

They who know that woman who is proper to be abandoned, ¹

What is to be eaten and not to be eaten consider,

Who wear clean clothes, and speak what is suitable to the occasion,

Who hearing their own dispraise are struck with shame, hearing their
own fame are filled with joy,

Who are continually writing and reading, who set the man who has
 strayed in the right way,
 Who serve their guru, their fathers and mothers, who, abandoning bad
 qualities, possess themselves of good ones,
 Who know how to estimate all,
 They who are such, possess the qualities of a man. [2.]

The wife of a guru, and of a king, the wife of a relation,
 The wife of a friend, one's own maid-servant.
 These are women fit to be kept away from ;
 She, too, who has come for shelter, distressed.

Kám—distressed, very angry, who know nothing but filling their bellies,
 Who cannot estimate the wise, and fools who have no fear of God in
 their hearts ;
 Who as long as convenient retain friendship, who listen to advice from
 no one ;
 Whose heart is not in their own power, how can such know religion ?
 Who to their own hearts appear wise, thinking others foolish ;
 Who know nothing of verse, such are they who may be said to possess
 the qualities of animals. [3.]

Some one, for some little reason of his own, tiger-like destroys a man's
 body ;
 Some one without reason, for nothing, snake-like annoys another ;
 Some one, at the expense of his own life, takes the life of another ;
 The centipede, entering a man's head, destroys his and its own life ;
 These three kinds of men are always badly disposed.
 Them Poets and learned men call animal-men (properly men-
 animals). [4.]

He who learns of himself has the qualities of a Dev,
 A man receives instruction given.
 He who receives not instruction given,
 He it is who has the qualities of a beast or a bird. [1.]

The best Poets sing
 Day by day stories of the Devs.
 Reciting or hearing, pleasure arises,
 Wisdom becomes refined. [2.]

The Cholak race is a Dev-race,
 All were equal to Devs.
 Theirs is the praise I now sing,
 Poesy, full of fruit, believing. [3.]

Of eight and one hundred jewels,
 I will make a handsome garland ;
 One jewel's value, too,
 Will understand he who is wise. [4.]

Krishna's name, as a charm,
 Who ever shall repeat, jewel by jewel,
 For ever his life's
 Protection God will grant. [5.]

With crystal beads praise Ravi.*
 With Rudrāksh † Rudra's charm repeat,
 Tulsee, sandal, gold, fruit,
 For separate gods are assigned. [6.]

Than all these better is the garland
 Ratna-máliká. Be sure !
 Krishna's name, if any repeat,
 He will attain the place of liberation.

[7.]

The lord of men, the light of the Cholak race,
 King Siddhráj's chronicle, Ratna Málá,
 Without fault, the pains of making poetry,
 The mode of construction has been related in this first Jewel.

Thus Shrimat Guru's lotus foot in heart retaining, of Brannin Raj
 family born, in skill in verse clever, Krishnajee by name, the maker,
 —this book, Siddhráj Jayasinh's chronicle, Ratna Málá, this the first
 Jewel.

Second Jewel.

In the second jewel I relate
 A programme of the whole matter.
 In detail I will tell it afterwards,
 King by king, their fame declaring.

In Kanyakubja Desh, is the good city Kalyán-Kátak.
 King Bhuwad by name, of Cholak race, a bit of an immortal, there
 resides. [1.]

In Guzerat he made a progress, he killed Jayashikhari.
 To his own country he went, every country conquering, his enemies
 defeating. [2.]

Jayashikhari's son Wanráj, in the forest born, was a very mighty one.
 His enemies subduing he founded Pattan; for sixty years his ambition
 flourished. [3.]

His son King Jog-Raj reigned well for five and thirty years.
 His son Khem-Raj, flourished five and twenty years with joy. [4.]

His son Bhuad, according to twenty-nine years issued his commands.
 His son Vairasinha's rule five and twenty years was obeyed. [5.]

His son Ratnáditya fifteen years reigned a good reign.
 His son Sámatsinh seven years took the place of royalty. [6.]

Than two hundred four years less seven kings thus ruled.
 Sámatsinh was sonless, royalty passed to his sister's son. [7.]

Kalyan-Kátak Bhuad's son, Karn by name is called.
 His son Chandráditya. Somaditya was his son. [8.]

The son of him was Bhuwanáditya, his son Raj Kunwar was called.
Sámatsinh's sister he married, to Pattan city he came. [9.]

Mulráj, a son was born to him, Pattan city's lord he became.
Than sixty years, five less, having ruled, then he attained the city of
the gods. [10.]

Chámund Raya, the son of him, ten and three years rule
Enjoyed : to him Wallabh Ráj was born, six months he remained in
the assembly of kings. [11.]

Ráj Dullabhram ruled eleven years and six months.
Bhim Dev there for forty years ruled as a good king. His son was
he. [12.]

Two and thirty years Karn king, Jayasinh forty-nine ;
To him there was no son born ; then his brother's son was installed. [13.]

The fore-said king Bhim Ráj had two sons well known,
One Karn, father of Jayasinh, another Khimráj called. [14.]

Khimráj's son was Tribhuwan Pál, lord of twelve cities,
In the city of Dahathali was his residence, his son and wife's also. [15.]

Three sons, two daughters to him were born, their names now I tell :
One Kunwar Pál, then Mahipál, Krintpál * too, these three. [16.]

One daughter Premal named, she Jayasinh's army's leader wedded.
To Kashmir Desh's lord's hand, his daughter Dewal he entrusted. [17.]

On Siddhraj's seat Kumár Pál remained thirty-one years :
To him again no son was born ; his brother's son became the lord. [18.]

* Kirti Pál.

His name was Ajipál, for three years he kept the throne.

Two years reigned Bál Mulráj, thirty-six Bhim Dev. [19.]

Of his race, what followed, I will relate in due time.

The kings of the commencement of both races I will relate with great
delight. [20.]

Jaishikhari Chápotkatá,

Bhuwad Chálukya the clever,

Their aforesaid sons I speak of,

Their persons, qualities, character, in order. [1.]

Bhuwad's body was tall, his love of war great, fighting with his enemies,
he first with words incited them.

With a little excellence very much delighted, he gave much reward ;
with a little fault enraged, he quickly would put to death.

He loved the poet's voice, for his own fame's sake ; he knew what passed
in the heart when he looked with his eyes.

As many villages as were in his possession, with the names of his sons
and wives, and the acts he performed, I will write of. [1.]

His son Karn was swarthy in colour, addicted to avarice, collecting
money and placing it in the earth,

Found of sensual enjoyments, from which he became diseased in body :
he found a Yogi who cured him of his disease.

Afterwards, having become old, he strengthened the understanding of
wisdom. From association with the Yogi he abandoned evil-
mindedness.

The villages he possessed, the names of his children and wives, the
exploits he performed, I will write of. [2.]

His son was Chandráditya, whose beauty was great. Free from lust-
ful desires, he was splendid, removing dispraise from him.

He was a very steadfast prince, the causer of happiness to his kingdom :
looking at the future he acted when he had to act.

The villages he possessed, the names of his children and wives, the
exploits he performed, I will write of. [3.]

His son was Somáditya, who was endued with wisdom, very corpulent
in body, fond of personal decoration.

Examining broken forts and mansions, expending much money he re-
paired them with good workmanship.

He knew the customs of antiquity, was fond of listening to the Shas-
tras ; he kept an eye on his land, keeping a watch on produce and
expenditure.

The villages he possessed, the names of his children and wives, the
exploits he performed, I will write of. [4.]

His son, of manly form, was Bhuwaníditya. He was unequalled for his
confiding character, neglecting his kingdom,

He gave all affairs into the hand of his minister, himself he amused
according to his inclination, thus he lost villages, defeated by his
enemy.

He was fond of liquor to excess, fond of sights, he bought articles at
the expense of much money.

The villages he possessed, the names of his children and wives, the
exploits he performed, I will write of. [5.]

His son was Raj Kuwar, of fair complexion, somewhat ruddy, very hand-
some, on account of his strength, of no great stature, nor yet very
low,

His body was not thin nor yet stout. He was observant of religion,
the continual worshipper of Tripurári.

He suffered affliction on account of his wives, nor was he more fortunate
in regard to money.

The villages he possessed, the names, &c. [6.]

* [A line appears to be wanting here. It is not in Mr. Forbes's translation or in his manuscript copy of the original Ratna Malá.—H. N.]

His son was Mulráy, of treacherous disposition, free from mercy, intent on his own object.

His handsome person was dark, he was a slave of Káma, he held money firmly, concealing it in the earth.

In war he was unskilled, if he was opposed to an enemy, by deceit inspiring confidence, he would destroy them.

The villages, &c. [7.]

His son was Chámund Ráy, he was attenuated and of yellow complexion, very fond of eating and drinking, and of handsome dress.

He cultivated good trees in his garden, he built wells and tanks ; leaving many tasks unfinished he went to the gate of Yama.

He was better than his father, he had no enemy but the Yavan,* in the kingdom his memory was long respected.

The villages, &c. [8.]

His son was Wallabh Ráj, of dwarfish stature, in mind able, abandoning wickedness.

His complexion was ruddy, he never broke his word, being very ambitious of rule.

On his body were freckles very prevalent ; leaving his schemes unfinished he departed, leaving his body.

The villages, &c. [9.]

*
His son was Dullabh Rám, who was of lofty stature and fair complexion.

He was much addicted to asceticism, the worshipper of the husband † of the mountain's daughter, he was not excited much by anger, being enlightened by knowledge.

He was fond of the society of ascetics, bathing, gifts, Gangá's banks, warlike ambition from his birth abandoning.

The villages, &c. [10.]

* [Originally a Greek (Ionian?), but here it means the Muhammadan.—“It was in his (Chamund's) time that the sun of the Rajpoots began to decline before the Moslem crescent.—*Rám Máhá*, Vol. 1, p. 67.—H. N.]

† [Siva, the husband of Durgá, daughter of Himálaya, the sovereign of the snowy mountains.—H. N.]

The son of him was Bhim Dev, splendid as the Dev's Dev, skilled in the practice of war, seizing the bow.
 He was stout and tall in person, his body covered with hair, his complexion somewhat dark, but handsome to look at.
 He was haughty, fond of war, not he afraid the Mlechh * challenging.
 The villages, &c. [11.]

His son Karn, was of fair complexion, of middling stature,
 Inclined to lust, given to low habits, but repenting, blaming himself.
 Proud of his family in his heart, he would on reflection abstain from low conduct.
 The villages, &c. [12.]

The son of him Siddhráy Jayasinh, so-called, Gujar-land adorned, by the light of his great fame.
 His hands to the wrist were of dark colour, but otherwise he was fair ; in person he was thin, but well kept.
 Of a son he was very desirous, very anxious for a great poet, but his hopes were unfulfilled. He caused to be written the annals of his race.
 The villages, &c. [13.]

Such was the good race of the Cháluk,
 Again of the race of the Chápotkatá, with love
 I will relate what I have heard as may be found opportune.
 Now I write concisely in good language. [1.]

The king of men, Chálukya's personal complexion,
 Which I have heard from what has been written, I have related with love.
 I have not heard the bodily colour of the Chápotkatás.
 I will write by inference from books the character of their minds. [2.]

Jayashikhari's successors, eight kings I speak of,
 Because there is much connexion with them.
 This book is devoted principally to Siddhráy.
 But I will mention whatever occurs in connexion.

[3.]

Such was the mountain of fame (Jayashikhari), as Indra handsome,
 Who had great skill in understanding verse.
 In battle not abandoning his pride, adhering to his word,
 Well affectioned, as no one ever was, who performed the acts of Rám. [1.]

His son the Jangal king became, famous in the world.
 First he was a robber, he abandoned the trade, repenting,
 The conqueror of Kám, lover of Devs, one who regarded great advantage.
 Well affectioned, &c. [2.]

Of his race was Jog Ráj, the augments of treasure and dominion,
 Like the Devs-lord, skilled in the bow,
 There exists a work spoken by him, Pundits have seen it in the world.
 Well affectioned, &c. [3.]

The wealthy Khem Ráj, his son, as a Dev on the earth,
 Had no servants of ability;
 He was of passionate temper, but in good-fortune like Indra.
 Treasury and dominion he extended; with his family he was not
 friendly. [1.]

His son was Bhuráj, famous in all lands,
 Of good fame, wisdom, wealth in the country.
 Than his father he acquired better fame :
 With happiness he reigned a good reign, no enemy opposing him. [2.]

His was Vair Sinh the incomparable,
 Not conquered by the Mlechh, though they attempted to conquer him.
 A good minister dwelt with him, one of great wisdom.
 Contending in war he never suffered defeat. [3.]

His son was Ratna-Bhán : the sun he seemed of the earth :
 His splendour was measureless, he took affliction from the world.
 Famous was he for strength, courageous, adhering to his pledge :
 Neither thieves, cheats, libertines, nor liars did he allow on the land. [4.]

Gayand * Sinh was his son, whose reputation is bad,
 He had no consideration for what he spoke night or day,
 He had no firmness, nor discrimination, but was continually changing
 his mind.
 He knew not what was good and what bad, what hostile, what
 friendly. [5.]

Thus have I described eight kings of the Chauras,
 The details in regard to them I will relate as they are written :
 The reason of relating is to forbid men of evil minds,
 From bad conduct to remain far, and teach them to adopt good. [6.]

Good actions and religion, formerly, gave good fame to Rájás :
 By bad actions and religion till to-day others are infamous.
 Hearing again and again men of good qualities will attain learning.
 The learning of Pandits will cause new wisdom. [7.]

Bhuwad Bhup and Jayashikharí's
 War, thenceforth † I will relate.
 Guzerat land's story, all of it,
 I will detail at length. [1.]

The lords of men whom in this book,
 Of two races I have mentioned,
 None of them like Siddhráj Tayasinh
 Obtained fame in the world. [2.]

* Equivalent to Sámant.

† i. e. beginning with that.

A good garland of jewels,
By each jewel, a clever man,
If Krishna's name therewith he repeat,
Will obtain a krore of happiness.

[3.]

A good poet made this book.
Listen ! clever man who considerest,
With labour of mind it is related,
At length, this second jewel.

Third Jewel.

The third jewel see and listen to,
 Eyes and ears applying,
 The pictured * skill observe with the eyes
 Its qualities hear with the ears. [1.]

The lord of Kanyakubja Dēsh,
 The Gujar-lord killing,
 Took the kingdom, again of his
 Son defeated restored it. [2.]

From Vikram there had passed away.
 Two, five, seven† well-known ;
 Kanyakubja and Gujar struggled :
 • Of that time is this story. [3.]

The maner in which the king of Gujar was slain, his son left alive,
 The race increased, the Kingdom was recovered by the exploits of the
 Kshatris' house.
 The founding of Anhil-nagar, the great king of that time,
 • The reason I will tell of all these fields of war, these men of powerful
 race. [1.]

In the good land of Kanyakubja Dēsh
 There is the city of Kalyán-Kāṭak,
 Of the Chaulukya race Rājá Bhuwad,
 In whose possession are many great villages. [1.]

* Alluding to the diagrams which the perverted ingenuity of the writer takes
 delight in.

† 752, A.D. 696.

Deficient in no necessary of royalty,
 Splendid beyond measure seems an Indra.
 A sea of strength, handsome, and wise,
 Ambitious in his heart of all kinds of wisdom. [2.]

Performing * Sám Dám, Bhed, Dand,
 He destroyed the royal state of his enemies ;
 The whole wealth he brought home,
 Horses, elephants, camels, cars, perceiving them to be good. [3.]

A jewel among men, if any where there was,
 Him with entreaty he would bring or with money ;
 As all the water of the rain travels seawards,
 So all cleverness travelled to the palace of this Rájá. [4.]

All Shilpashastras, Jotish, &c.,
 Waidya Shastras, too, the six musical modes,
 Good Pingal, and other alankár books,
 Grammar, and other roads these learned men knew. [5.]

These and others, many, skilful verses are related ;
 To educate all he erected schools,
 In his city various kinds of cloths were made,
 There were many valiant warriors who blenched not in fight. [6.]

Car-makers^{*} built there many carriages,
 Travel they could on the water, in the sky, on the ground.
 Many were there made ornaments, vessels, &c.
 Many colours adorned pictures are painted in houses, &c. ['7.]

* [The four approved methods of dealing with enemies, referred to in Manu, chapter VII. verse 107, which Sir W. Jones translates, " let him reduce all opposers to submission by negotiation and three other expedients, *namely*, presents, division, and force of arms." The second of these expedients is stated as *dám* in the text of the Ratna Málá, as well as in the translation, and I am informed that the maxim is often so quoted in the present day. The correct reading however is *dán*, as in the translation of Manu, and as given by Kulluka Bhatta, his commentator.—H. N.]

Whatever was made by the inhabitants of this city,
 Even Brahma did he see it would praise ;
 To compare this city with Lanka,
 The sun remains half the year in the north and half in the south. [8.]

• Among cows Kámadhenu is a jewel,
 Among trees the jewel is Mandar,
 Among men the learned man is a jewel,
 Among women the faithful wife is a jewel. [1.]

A tailor, an artificer, a wanio, a Bhat,
 A barber, an outcast, a potter,
 A physician, a man who knows the Veds,
 A watchman, a land's lord, a Josí, [2.]

The city in which these are not
 Is not a city, but a jangal ;
 The whole of these flourish then only
 When there are good poets. [3.]

The past, the future, the present,
 Many men and cities we hear of ;
 But they who obtain a poet,
 Their name alone remains famous. [4.]

The poet's verses are pleasing,
 Men and women delight to read them,
 As a pearl in the world shines,
 The drop* of rain in the oyster's mouth. [5.]

* Allusion to the supposed origination of pearls from a drop of rain fallen into the mouth of an oyster

Therefore Rájá Bhuwad, he
 Poet's skill was examining ;
 Krore on krore of money spending,
 He kept them to his own city bringing them. [6.]

Now as many cities as he had,
 The manner in which he managed them,
 I will relate in chanchala verse,
 The Pandit Ray will understand it. [7.]

As many villages as he had, of them five portions making,
 One portion according to his pleasure he gave over to his wives,
 For the support of his army he set apart another portion,
 In the same way he assigned a third portion always for his
 treasury. [1.]

His own sixteen Patádharas, resolute men, as pillars of the sky,
 Lovers of the King's prosperity, always well-affected, without deceit,
 Whom the King always retained about his person,
 These, some of them, he would often send to enjoy the fourth part. [2.]

From one to sixteen, * * * * *
 The account of all the villages from this the Pundit will understand,
 Of the remaining * portion 3,600 in religious gifts,
 The others † in support of learning. [3.]

* i. e. of the remaining fifth.

† i. e. the rest of the fifth, deducting 3,600.

† * * * * *
If the numbers 2, 13, 11, 3, 2, 7, 5, 2, 3, and 2 be multiplied by each other, beginning with the last the product will be 720,720. [1.]

If that number be repeated five times,
The product will be 36 lacks and 36 hundred,
• Thirty-six lacks of villages remained,
If thirty-six hundred were given in gifts. [2.]

NAMES OF THE PATA'DHARS.

Chand, Dwand, Bhat, Ved, Vir,
Sinh, Sindhu, Girí, Dhir,
Sámat, Dhímat, Dhanvi, Paṭu,
Bhím, Maháráthi, Mir. [3.]

Eight Paṭádhars he used to send,
To conquer in all four directions ;
The manner in which he sent an expedition four times,
I will tell, with their names. [4.]

† [The passage omitted by Mr. Forbes contains an arithmetical conceit of the poet, with a numerical diagram illustrative of it.

The whole passage may be rendered as under :—

He distributed the good villages among his chiefs in sixteen equal parts. No one received more or less.

From this the learned may ascertain the number of the villages.

Of the remaining portion 3,600 in religious gifts.

The other in support of learning.

630	2	2	3	5	7	9
315	3	1	3	5	7	9
105	5	1	1	5	7	3
21	7	1	1	1	7	3
	3	1	1	1	1	3

The least common multiple.

Place the given numbers in a line and divide them by the first, and place the numbers that cannot be divided in a fresh line below. Treat the new line thus formed in the same manner as the first, and so on till all the numbers left in any line have no common measure but unity. Then multiply all the divisors, and the product thus obtained will be the least common multiple.—H. N.]

The names of them, separately,
 Are not written in any book ;
 Still, by inference, I will tell them,
 To please the minds of poets. [5.]

The king's affection was upon Mir,
 Him he never sent abroad :
 The others sending, conquering on all sides,
 The south, the north, the west, the east. [6.]

Chand, Paṭu, Bhaṭ, Dhímat, Dhir, Maháráthi, Vfr, Sindhu, these went,
 Dwand, Maháráthi, Sámat, Dhímat, Sindhu, Bhaṭ, Bhím, Sinh, these
 went ;

Ved, Paṭu, Vir, Dhanvi, Maháráthi, Bhím, Sinh, Sindhu, these
 flourished,

Girí, Paṭu, Bhím, Dhir, Maháráthi, Sámat, Dhímat, Dhanvi, he
 sent. [1.]

In this way he conquered in four directions ;
 The Gujarát Rájá remained unvanquished,
 Of the Cháwaḍá race, Jayashikhari by name,
 In his house was a wife named Rup Sundarí. [1.]

Panchásar-purí was his royal seat,
 King Bhuwaḍ's fear he received not,
 Strong, handsome, of great wisdom,
 Wealth treasured, servants, army, he had without end. [2.]

King Bhuwaḍ before, no speech of this
 Spoke the Paṭádhars,
 King Bhuwaḍ in his own mind thinks,
 " The whole land is under my control." [3.]

Before him stood a Poet, Kám Ráj named,
Of Brahman caste, a ship of all languages.
Vrij Bháshá the king loved much—
Many books were therefore being made. [4.]

The poet before the king each day was going,
Many tasteful stories of various kinds was he relating.
One day the poet missed his time,
At home he may have found some work. [5.]

A foreigner came before the king,
The king was longing for a poet much,*
Two times or three his servants he sent,
Still came not the poet his lord before. [6.]

Another day came he the king before,
Very great anger the king's mind seized,
Calling the poet, spoke the lord of earth—
“Slave art thou, or lord?” [7.]

“Wealth, grain, clothes, with pleasure receiving,
“O fool, dost thou break my commands?”
Hearing this Kám Ráj spoke a speech,
“Hear, O king, Chaulukya's son!” [8.]

“I am your Guru, you my disciple,
“I am Saraswati's son, no servant of yours,
“You a king † among men, I a king of Poets,
“You a Rájá, I a Dwij Maháráj.” [9.]

“There are many equal to you in the world to tend me,
“Not a whit have I need of you.”
Hearing what the Poet said, in a rage, the king
To his minister addressed himself thus:— [10.]

* That is because the stranger had arrived.

† Better “you a man-king, I a poet-king.”

“ Going out of the city, strike off his head,
 “ Then will be appeased the anger of my heart.”
 Hearing this the minister quick, with his servants, uprose,
 The poet he took away to the appointed place. [11]

At the city gate the minister went and sat down ;
 The order of the king to the servants he showed :
 Then the servants seizing him thither went,
 At the time they arrived at the place of execution. [12.]

Then another thing occurred which
 The Poet's eyes beheld.
 The Nagar-shet's maidservant,
 A cow to the jangal was taking. [1.]

At the old Nagar-shet's house there was a favourite son, every minute
 peevishly he cried out for milk :
 On that account one cow at the house was always kept ; seeing it one
 day the child took a fancy
 That “ every body sends their cows to the jangal—mine too send.” The
 maid took it off to the jangal.
 When she was telling this to some one the poet heard ; he spoke a
 speech in “ anyukti alankár.” [1.]

“ The child-king placing confidence in, if you now put this cow in
 the wood,
 “ Peevishly it will again ask for milk, my dear, you will then repent :
 “ Therefore keep milk by you, and then let the cow go in the forest—
 thus you will obtain ease.
 “ If you do not attend to my words, then you will by and bye reflect
 more upon them. [1.]

“ A king, a wife, a child, what they say
 “ Should not be done immediately ; *
 “ If the future be not considered,
 “ Anxiety will increase in the mind. [1.]

“ A drunkard, an angry man,
 “ Speaks without consideration ;
 “ When he recovers he is ashamed,
 “ As a king, a woman, or a child.” [2.]

Hearing, they considered
 The minister’s servants, clever,
 Then the whole tale
 To their master they told. [3.]

The minister reflected in mind,
 “ To consider beforehand is the cause of happiness ;
 “ If one dig a well when the fire has begun,
 “ How can the fire be extinguished ? [4.]

“ When the rain begins to fall, if one then commence a tank,
 “ The water will not remain ;
 “ If trouble be taken at first,
 “ Foresight is the cause of happiness. [5.]

• “ From speaking provoking language
 “ Anger will increase, causing repentance ;
 “ With consideration one should speak ;
 “ Foresight is the cause of happiness. [6.]

* The servants of Cambyses reasoned similarly when they were called upon to destroy Croesus.—Herodotus III. 36.

" He who eats unwholesome food suffers much annoyance,
 " His body is much afflicted ;
 " Wholesome food is therefore to be eaten ;
 " Foresight is the cause of happiness. [7.]

" First doing disgraceful actions,
 " Afterwards a man obtains shame ;
 " A good man will not do so ;
 " Foresight is the cause of happiness. [8.]

" First in the breast of the woman producing milk,
 " Afterwards He causes birth ;
 " Such is the world-creator's arrangement :
 " Foresight is the cause of happiness. [9.]

" The seed is sown afterwards,
 " The hedge set first,
 " How can it be done at once, afterwards ?
 " Foresight is the cause of happiness. [10.]

" So considering to the king he went,
 " He told the story, lifting his hands ;
 " O ! Jewel ornament of the wise, lord of men,
 " Lord ! listen to these petitions of mine. [11.]

" How can a lamp light the sun ? how can a little river make the sea
 great ?
 " How can a Pundit teach Saraswati ? what is the coolness of sandal to
 the moon ?
 " How can cow-dung cleanse Gangá ? how can the disciple explain
 things to the Guru ?
 " How can the learned be taught by others ? [1.]

- ‘ What ! will the king of birds snatch up a fly ?
- ‘ Has the Makar * recourse to a ship when it would swim ?
- ‘ What shall the painter paint on the tail of the peacock ? †
- ‘ What need has the wind of a conveyance ?
- ‘ Who shall show what is on the future to Destiny ?
- ‘ Who shall inform the man who knows the heart ?
- ‘ How can the learned be taught by others ? [2.]

- “ Who shall teach Brahma the work of creation ? Who shall teach the Yogs to Shankar ?
- “ Who shall teach Muni Nárád music ? Who shall teach Vyás how how to read the Puráns ?
- “ How shall the Baglo learn to walk like the Hans ? How can the crow teach the Kokila ? ‡
- “ How can the learned be taught by others ? [3.]

- ‘ What shall heat the rays of the sun ? Who shall sweeten sugar ?
- ‘ What way shall water wash milk ? and what flower shall scent musk ?
- ‘ What medicine can give relief to a Dev ? who shall gild § Meru mountain ?
- ‘ How can the learned be taught by others ? [4.]

- “ You know in every way
- “ The present, the past, the future ;
- “ Still I speak a little,
- “ Understanding the rules of a minister. [1.]

* [A fabulous animal described as an alligator.—H. N.]

† [————— “ To paint the lily,
* * * * *

“ Is wasteful and ridiculous excess.”—*King John*.—H. N.]

‡ [The Indian cuckoo.—H. N.]

§ [“ To gild refined gold.”—*King John*.—H. N.].

"Worthy of death is not this Brahman ;
 "For a little fault enraged,
 "The faults of all you pardon,
 "Deep-minded Mahá Ráy. [2.]

"Protection, support, you have afforded,
 "You have considered him as a Guru ;
 "Many days of favour abandoning,
 "Do not give way to sudden anger. [3.]

"As over the deer a tigér, * pleased, has for them great affection,
 "Food and drink, great honour, many ways causes them joy :
 "If any fault has been found in the deer, then runs to destroy them,
 "Many days of favour abandoning, on a sudden exhibiting anger. [4.]

"Such is not the practice of men.
 "If a man sees any fault,
 "The offender's ancestors'
 "Qualities recollecting, he lays anger aside. [1.]

"So with the man who has been in favour,
 "How can he suddenly be angry ?
 "He who after being pleased suddenly becomes angry,
 "I call him the son of a monkey. [2.]

"You, the ornament of the Chálukyas,
 "Protector of Bráhmans and cows,
 "This is not befitting you,
 "To kill a Bráhman, O mérciful one ! [3.]

* Better "the deer-lord."

“ Sin’s expiation is prescribed,
 “ In the Dharm Shástras, lord of earth.
 “ To kill a Bráhmaṇ, it is nowhere written,
 “ However great his fault.”

[4.]

*King Bhuwad conquering countries,
 With the poet was angry, then the minister gave good counsel ;
 To protect the person of a Bráhmaṇ he laboured.
 This has been related in good verse, the third jewel.

[1.]

Fourth Jewel.

The moon, Saraswatí, wisdom, Sur, Lakshmi,
 Seven,* too, I worship,
 Ever grant me wisdom,
 For the work of the fourth jewel. [1.]

The King considered the minister's speech ;
 In mind believing it to be advantageous,
 His slaughterous preparations he laid aside,
 From his heart anger was not departed. [1.]

Thus the minister before he spake,
 "From my land him expel,"
 The minister said, "Hear, O Maharájá!
 "Some day or other he will be found of use. [2.]

"Your fame who will celebrate?
 "Who in the three times will keep it famous?"
 Said the King, "A good tale I will cause write,
 "Golden, good speech, shall be that I will make. [3.]

"Books without money I will distribute,
 "To the reader's race I will make a grant.
 "So shall the fame increase as Gunga's flood.
 "Occasion what, for poet-people, is there?" [4.]

THE MINISTER SAID.

"Going to a goldsmith who makes not a jewel, he is not adorned, an
 ingot of gold who takes in his hand.
 "Without procuring clothes to be made by a clothes-maker, a man
 who carries a load of cotton on his head is not adorned.

* Munis or Rishis.

- “Without building a house with the assistance of labourers, what is the use of heaping together wood, earth, and stones? *
- “So once glancing at it, immediately people will be satisfied, much will not be cared for: without the poet's art men's minds will not be attracted. [5.]

- “Lived there Rájás of old, great ones on the earth.
 “They performed great actions with great fame :
 “Very wise ones were there, of worthy people praised, still
 “They who had not a poet are this day unknown. † [6.]

- “Conquerors, they subdued the nine Khands,
 “Well conducted, they did no injustice,
 “For their subjects they made many arrangements :
 “Without a poet they are this day unknown. [7.]

- “What is it though elephants a lakh or a crore he possessed?
 “What is it though the instruments of victory are musical at home?
 “What is it to subject of their hand the whole world?
 “Without a poet they are this day unknown. [8.]

- “Equal to Indra he wealth acquired, what then?
 “What is it to have each day food at will?
 “What though the treasury be stuffed with pearls and jewels?
 “Without a poet they are this day unknown. [9.]

- “What though fame be extended in all countries?
 “What though ingenious contrivances of every kind have been learned?
 “What if money have been expended in religion or other objects?
 “Without a poet they are this day unknown. [10.]

* Or bricks.

† [“Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
 Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
 Urgentur, ignotique longa
 Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”—Hor. Ode IV., 9, 27.—H.N.]

- "What though palaces have been built in each country ?
 "What though great cities have been founded in each land ?
 "What are temples built or reservoirs of water ?
 "Without a poet they are this day unknown.

[11.]

- "Hari, Hari, repeating, much fearing,
 "Sin very far driving away,
 "My truth in heart receiving,
 "Anger remove afar."

[12.]

Now, a very wise gardener * came up, he brought a good garland, in
 seeming like Kám Dev's bow,
 In each flower's leaf with good letters were written, Niti-verses, King-
 advantaging, many of them,
 "Seeing it a man would long for it, he would long to hear its meaning,
 his heart would be ravished ;" thus good men praised it,
 A splendid garland in the splendid court to the splendid Rájá the
 garland-maker gave.

[13.]

- Palaces, money, land, women, warlike sons affectionate, elephants,
 horses, property much, though there be these, what use are they ?
 "Affectionate friends many, loving him as their own souls, in mind,
 with kind desire every watch to his house going :
 "Villages, forts a crore, roads, by his own bow conquered, enemies
 made very poor, plundered of land, houses, wealth :
 "Thus in all lands if a king be famous, time will obliterate, without
 the poet's verses, the name of a king."

[14.]

Hearing charms of Shankar's,
 As the snake abandons poison,
 Hearing this variegated verse, the king
 Anger abandoned that very moment.

[15.]

* Better "garland-maker."

Well-perfumed or ill-odoured if he findth how can a man with a nose
be deceived ? I say nothing of him who has no nose.

With manliness, a man, a woman's person seeing, uninfamed by Kām^r
Dev,—such a thing cannot be.

A proud man his own censure hearing, remains uninfluenced by
rage—who believes this ?

So a wise man, hearing verse, how can he avoid being merciful ? of him
who is without wisdom I say not a word. [16.]

Where men collected live,
Another's calamity is assuaged.

Listening, in mind consider

Where birds and deer assemble.

[17.]

Who shall speak to him, say,

Of happiness or pain ?

What shall *he* say to the fowl *or* to the duck ? *

Or what to the pea-fowl *or* the crow ?

[18.]

Beholding the verse written in the garland,

The king, again read it, receiving it in heart.

Verse, once spoken, does not satisfy,

The meaning thereof he caused to be written.

[19.]

On paper he wrote the golden good letters,

Without verse the heart is not attracted,

Verse, seeing, all keep it in mind,

Without verse all reading lay it on the ground.

[20.]

Reading it the king gav^e it into the hand of another.

Again calling for it he began to read, applying his eyes,

Fifty-two times thus he read it.

The minister extolled the greatness of verse.

[21.]

* Note,—Read either with or without the words italicised.

The king said to the gardener, "This is new ;
 The maker of this verse who is he ?"
 Knowing the maker of the verse to be Kám Ráj,
 Clothes, ornaments, &c. he presented to him. [22.]

Fifty and two elephants he gave him ;
 His love overflowed his heart.
 Extending his arms he embraced Kám Ráj,
 Tears of joy flowed from his eyes. [23.]

"Ask, ask, ask," with his mouth he cried ;
 "To-morrow I will ask," so saying home went the poet.
 Seeing him his wife thus addressed the Kavi,
 "Leaving this city, let us go far away immediately." [24.]

"The land of his birth, where his family remain,
 "Where his livelihood is, though the city be,
 "If life is not protected (a man)
 "Must then abandon it and go away." • [25.]

"A tree that lives on the bank of a river, will certainly one day or
 other be destroyed by the river.
 " * If in his family dispute arise, a man afraid should consider well.
 " If a man dwell among enemies or eat mercury, † one day he will lose
 his life.
 " Thus he who formed a friendship with a king has never been heard
 of but he also suffered calamity. [26.]

"A king, a guru, a woman, fire,—these,—
 "One should not be too near, nor yet too far (from them) :
 "If too far off there is no advantage,
 "If too near then calamity is full. [27.]

“Pregnancy, honour, dealing,
 “A dog’s marriage, association with a king,
 “At the time of getting great delight arises,
 “At the time of losing the body is as if dead. [28.]

“A madman, a child, a king, a woman,
 “A monkey, mind, the wind,
 “One minute travel eastwards,
 “Another westward turn. [29.]

“Such splendour should be abandoned
 “By which life may be destroyed :
 “That gold should be burned
 “By which the ear is torn.” [30.]

(THE POET SPEAKS.)

“A great elephant, a great poet, a great horse,
 “Without the king’s palace appear not to advantage.
 “As in tin, appears not to advantage,
 “A jewel which any one has set. * [31]

“In happiness calamity, in calamity happiness
 “Remain always conjoined,
 “As wearing ornaments one appears handsome
 “When the body * has been pierced. [32]

“In great happiness great calamity resides,
 “So also less in less.
 “As a man suffers who falls from a horse,†
 “So if he is afoot he suffers not from a fall. [33.]

* The ear bored, &c.

† [*Sævius ventis agitatui ingens*

Pinus ; et celsæ graviore casu

Decidunt turres ; feriunt quo summos

Fulgura montes.—Hor. Od. II. 10, 9

And Bunyan in his *Pilgrim’s Progress*, has—

“He that is down, needs fear no fall.”—H. N]

- ' Who abandons his mode of conduct,
 ' Though even it causes pain night and day ?
 ' If an elephant kill one driver,
 ' There mounts another on his head. [34.]

- " Without the night the moon is not splendid: so without the moon,
 shines not the night.
 " As without a river the hams does not appear in beauty, or without
 the river the hams,
 " Anjan * is not beautiful without the eye, nor the eye without the
 anjan.
 " Without the king's court the poet does not appear to advantage, nor
 the court without the poet. [35.]

- " From fear of the goad the elephant went off: abandoning the king's
 house, it went into the jangal :
 " Many days it remained doing what it chose. Once on a time it did
 not find sufficient food.
 " It was going to the caves of the mountain—caught by the network of
 trees it remained there many days.
 " Taking it the Kesri † Sinh mounted in the sky. Then remembering
 the King's house it very much repented. [36.]

- " Therefore abandoning home
 " You should not go elsewhere :
 " Abandoning the elephant's forehead, to the lotus
 " Going, the bee finds destruction. [37.]

- " He who causes pain,
 " The same equally causes happiness.
 " To whatever extent the tree suffers heat in the hot season,
 " To that extent in the rains it attains relief. [38.]

* Black eye-ointment.

† [The lion king.—H. N.]

“The very merciful Bhuwad king,
 “Whose conduct is good,
 “‘Ask! ask,’ has said to me,
 “I answered ‘I will ask to-morrow?’ [39.]

“His * pain or pleasure who counts
 “Who is always of use?
 “Who does not use fire
 “Though his house burn?” [40.]

The woman answered, “Ask for money
 “That will not fail as long as our race remains.”
 The Poet said, “Women are of little wisdom,
 “So great men have said, and true it is.” [41.]

“Money labourers ask for ;
 “Loose women ask for money ;
 “Sensible men, from one who is pleased,
 “Complete favour ask. 42. |

“From asking money there is no future advantage ;
 “Favour always bears fruit :
 “As the leaves, fruit, and flowers of trees,
 “He who lives near them takes.” [43.]

So saying, to the king went the Poet.
 Said the King, “Ask! Poet Lord!”
 “Such favour as will never diminish,
 “That I ask for night and day.” [44.]

“Ask again, great Poet,
 “I am pleased at this time ;
 “From your mouth as speech falls
 “So property I will grant.” [45.]

* i. e. Pain of him who is, &c.

(THE POET SAID),

"The Queen, the minister, the servants change,
 "Change too my mind or yours,
 "Still that your favour will not change,
 "This I ask for, joining my hands."

[46.]

"Ask again," cried the king,
 "What? is one thing all you ask?
 "If at this time you ask,
 "I give you the kingdom all."

[47.]

POET.

"No wish have I for this kingdom of yours,
 "One wish is mine, for your regard;
 "If pleased you are with service mine,
 "Then grant it, lord of men!"

[48.]

With his right hand to his right hand placed, a promise thus he three
 times gave :—

"As dear as is to me my life, than it greater favour enjoy. Witness of
 this Shankar I call.

"My order sometimes changes, never shall change an order of yours,"
 he said,

"My wealth is all of it thine, O Poet, as long as I live in the world."

[49.]

POET.

"Deceit will never I entertain."
 Thus the Poet said.
 Mutually friendship they establish,
 Shankar placing a witness between.

[50.]

With leather band monkeys bind,
 With thread the water-goer, *
 With iron band the forest lord.
 With promise bind him who has one father. [51.]

Breaks if broken the leathern band ; a promise cannot be broken !
 A stringed net when pulled to pieces comes to an end : a promise-net
 does not come to an end.

Breaks sometimes the iron cage ; the promise-cage never breaks.
 Every band can be loosened, but the promise of the man who has one
 father cannot be loosened. [52.]

The bad man, whose mind changes,
 Never associate with.
 In a little time friendship, and in a little
 What has been determined vanishes.
 What has been determined vanishes
 With him whose mind is like the colour of patang, †
 Apply it, then it is red distinct ;
 In a little there is none of it left.
 The character always the same
 Never changes, it not so !
 Abandon association with those,
 Whose heart changes, the bad one. [53.]

•
 As a woman without her husband,
 As a river without water,
 As a body without life,
 So without a friend is a man. [54.]

Friendship do not make,
 Seeing one of great wealth.
 Choose one whose word is immovable,
 Seeing him who is religious and wise. [55.]

* [i. e. A fish is to be caught with a net or line.—H. N.]

† [Sappan-wood, the *Cassalpinia Sappan*.—H. N.]

RATNA MALA.

A profligate, a deceitful man, a shameless one, a fool,
One who has no fear of God, who looks to his own advantage,
Choosing a friend, these abandon,
Him of ill-fame, and the unmeaning. [56.]

If a profligate meet a profligate,
A wise man a wise man,
If a fool meet a fool,
Then easily will intimacy spring up. [57.]

The Poet and the king established a firm friendship :
According to his hopes he made him a promise.
With wisdom taking great trouble
I have made with love in good style a fourth jewel. [58.]

RATNA MALA.

Fifth Jewel.

The King seated in the garden,
Once on a time, with pleasure,
The dancers danced, the singers sang,
Every sense was delighted.

[1.]

The garden was made like Kailás,
Many were the kinds of flowers and fruits :
There at that time the king
Shone equal to Shankar.

[2.]

Prince Karn sat adorned,
Wise as Ganapati was he;
Chand and other Sámants, too,
Adorned the beautiful assembly.

[3.]

Each his own wit
Was displaying with delight :
Great poets, and learned men five hundred
Caused exceeding joy.

[4.]

Bhúwad, king of all kings,
Kámráj, Poet-king,
Kings and poets besides like fireflies,
These two the head ornaments of all.

[5.]

The royalty of all the earth,
In the king's mind caused pride.
He has brought to his home man-jewels, too,
From all the world collecting them.

[6.]

KAM RÁJ.

- "The tree of the gods seems nothing without the gods' house, without the house of king Bhuwaḍ a poet is nothing.
 "In the world, the Day-lord excepted, there is no causer of day, without Bhuwaḍ, Rájá there is no ruler.
 "Yama Rájá hear, as no one can go to fight, so near Bhuwaḍ Rájá no one can maintain pride.
 "Arjun and Nahush ruled the people of Indra, no whit behind them is he." [7.]

Hearing Kámráj's eloquence,
 Laughing replied that king :—
 "Arjun and Nahush took paradise,
 "Say where is the road thereto." [8.]

Kámráj then replies :—
 "Listen king ! that story to,
 "By destiny's kindness they became
 "Travellers on the road of the sky." [9.]

At this time to king Bhuwaḍ
 Some foreign poet, approaching him,
 Gave a letter of greeting;
 Seeing it all were astonished. [10.]

Twelve half-lines of Chapai verse.
 Therein Doha verse concealed;
 Hearing its meaning, other poets'
 Skill became eclipsed. [11.],

Unseen and unheard of ever,
 Such cleverness without compare,
 Each looks at it with his eyes,
 Abandoning pride every Kavi-Bhup. [12.]

"Grant thee, God, good fame.
 "Unindebted, happiness dwell in thy house.
 "Mayest thou dwell in happiness, thy enemies destroyed,
 "Even though rain of arrows fall!
 "May the king, Uma's lord,* assist thee,
 "Ever the giver of all fortune!
 "Mayest thou collect a brilliant treasure of wealth,
 "May God take away thy sins,
 "Such praises may poets ever sing,
 "Daily to thy palace coming;
 "The paradise-dwellers may they be thrall'd to thee;
 "Remaining with great love." [13.]

"Bhu Nrip, tilak† of Chálukya race,
 "Live happily day and night!
 "Shankar Kavi's greeting,
 "Ever place on thy head."‡ [14.]

Says the king to all the poets,
 "Such a verse prepare."
 A term he gave of eight days,
 No one had courage for the attempt. [15.]

Armlets, earrings, finger-rings,
 Clothes without price, as a gift,
 Shankar, considering as Shankar,
 He worshipped as a god. - [16.]

"Ask! ask!" with his mouth he cried,
 He gave money according to his hopes;
 Afterwards his name and residence
 He began to ask, he the powerful one. [17.]

* Parwati.

† [The forehead mark or ornament.—H.N.]

‡ This is the Doha verse concealed in the above Chapal.

§ i. e. The Poet as a Dev.

Asks Shankar Kavi—the Rájá,

“Where dwellest thou, diadem-jewel of Poets?

“Where learned’st thou wisdom like this,

“Which in three worlds is not to be found? [18.]

“Who is there that maintains you?

“Where have you spent so many years?”

Spoke then the Kavi Shankar,

“Listen, little king, and falsely proud! [19.]

“The earth’s best portion that is called

“Where good Gurjar Desh is splendid—

“Water, grass, trees, a land full of fertility,

“Where money is plentiful, where people are generous. [20.]

“Panchásar-pur in the world famous,

“Where dwells always the sea’s daughter.*

“Seems a second Indrapuri splendid,

“Obtaining it nobody seeks for Swarg. [21.]

“Where things of all kinds are made, cloths too,

“Where there are ten thousand Kshatris, well trained to war,

“Where Brahmans dwell, learned in the four Veds and Puráns;

“Where sellers and buyers reside, of every kind. [22.]

“Of all Kshatrí races, the pinnacle,

“The Chápotkaṭ Rájá flourishes,

“By his exploits he has raised a mount of fame,

“Poets have given him the name of Jayashikhari. [23.]

“Rupsundarí is his Pat-Rání,

“No woman is there in the world like her,

“Her brother named Sura-Pála,

“In war unconquered, of wisdom boundless. [24.]

“ The essence of wealth, the Párasmani,
 “ In the body, the mouth is called,
 “ As the tree’s essence is the fruit,
 “ So the world’s essence is Gujarát. [25.]

“ Jayashikhari with Surpál joined
 “ Can destroy Indra’s throne,
 “ But Gujarát’s royalty is theirs,
 “ Little regard they any other. [26.]

“ There is a great school of knowledge
 “ Wherein bodily lives always Brahma’s daughter,
 “ There learned I this skill
 “ To conquer the world, thence have I come out.” [27.]

Hearing this praise of Gujarát, the king
 On his moustache clapped his hand, †
 Then the poet his heart’s
 Secret hostility perceived. [28.]

Spoke again the Chálukya king :—
 “ Say Poet, what resembles the Gujarát lord ? ”
 Said the Poet : “ Hear, O king !
 “ Unconquered are both King and Poet of Gujarát.” [29.]

Hearing this with rage spoke the poet Kám Ráj, “ O Shankar, of Kavi
 • Kám Ráj you have not heard ! ”
 Said Shankar, “ one Kám Ráj I have burned to ashes, ‡ again I have
 come to burn him, having heard.”

• पारसमनी, which turns iron into gold.

† See Tod’s Western India, p. 185.

‡ Alluding to Mahádev’s destruction of Káma.

Kám Ráj said “ ॐ (ū) has been turned into anuswár, * how did it happen that not saying Shukar fortune made a slip ? ”

Shankar said “ ग (ga) has become म (ma) ; fortune gave a dash being ashamed of calling you Kágráj.” † [30.]

Bhu Rájá to the two Poets,
Gave an order thus,
“ Each of you your sovereign’s fame
“ Praise as you have skill.” [31.]

“ Afterwards examination of the verses
“ Will make the people of the court :
“ Greater or less we will know you,
“ Now make this attempt.” [32.]

KÁM RÁJ’S VERSE.

“ As in the sea is filled much water, so thou, O Bhuráj ! art a sea filled with wisdom.
* “ The sea is beautiful with waves, Bhu-nrip with skill in wisdom.
“ Pearl-like are the Rájá’s words, his warriors are the jewels.
“ As many qualities as are in the sea so many reside in Bhuráj. He and the sea are of one form.” [33.]

SHANKAR’S VERSE.

“ The briny water of the sea is of no use, the Gurjar lord’s wisdom is not such ;
“ The waves of the sea are thrall’d by the winds, the Gurjar lord is always under his own control.
“ Pearls and diamonds are but stones ; not such his eloquence. Jaya-shikhari’s words are soft.
“ A treasury of wisdom and strength ; no poet of my country would compare him to what is inanimate.” [34.]

KA'M RA'J.

- "Some compare Bhuráj to the moon, some to Kám Dev,
 "Some call this wise one an ocean, some believe him to resemble Ganesh,
 "Some praise him as a lotus, some as the earth, .
 "Some liken him to a parrot, such qualities reside in Bhuráj." [35.]

- "Of good comparison deserving ever
 "All pronounce Bhuráj
 "What Jayashikhari is worthy to compare with
 "Say, if there be anything." [36.]

SHANKAR.

- "Cold as the moon in body, but not like it liable to increase and
 decrease ; in beauty like Kám Dev, but not like him devoid of
 body :
 "As deep as the sea, but not salt ; in wisdom like Ganesh, but not so
 ugly :
 "As the lotus delicate, but not speechless ; as the earth immoveable,*
 but not footless ;
 "These comparisons all of them do not suit in all points. His nose
 is like a parrot's but he is not a bird." [37.]

- The king, the water of a Jaláshraya,*
 Proposed as an object of praise.
 Both poets then strove
 In skilful verse and rejoinder. [38.]

KA'M RA'J AND SHANKAR.

- "How clear is the water ? It seems Ganges water. What does Ganges
 water resemble ? A necklace of pearls.
 "How bright is the pearl necklace ? As Kámadhenu's milk. What
 does that milk resemble ? The hans's bright body.

"How bright is the hams's body? Say considering. As in autumn
the brilliant sky.

"What does the autumn sky resemble? It seems a mirror. What the
mirror? As the heart of the Gurjar King." [39.]

The king next commanded the praise of Síva.

His poet began to consider,

The Gurjar Kavi immediately

Gave expression to this verse.

[40.]

SHANKAR.

"With the disk of the sun as a fire-fly boasts itself, or as the midge
with Garud,* what use is there to boast? "

"The elephant king before how boasts the goat-king? The jangal†
king before, what is the crowd of deer?

"What is the water of a tank in comparison with the ocean? When
the moon rises the lotus abandons its pride.

"What great matter is this? The thing is notorious in the world that
Shankar always conquers Kám Ráj." [41.]

Hearing and speaking such verses,

In that place holding disputation,

"Shankar has conquered," all pronounce.

Then was defeated Kavi Kám.

[42.]

Entered the city the earth-lord,

Hostility retaining in heart :

His mind understanding

Shankar returned to his home.

[43.]

Bhu Ráj, all his warriors

Called at night to his palace :

Asked of Gurjar Desh

The sovereign's name.

[44.]

* [The king of birds—the vehicle of Vishnu.—H. N.]

† [The tiger or lion.—H. N.]

The assembled warriors said,

“ Hear, Chálukya King !

“ Jayashikhari your servant

“ Protects Gurjar Desh.

[45.]

“ When we went to conquer the west,

“ From all Kings we received your tribute,

“ In Gurjar land is Panchásar city.

“ The King thereof is Jayashikhari.

[46.]

“ With him we fought a great battle,

“ Taking and binding him we took his city :

“ He spoke humbly a speech,

“ That ‘ I obey Bhuráj’s order.

[47.]

“ ‘ The King’s servants’ servant am I,

“ ‘ Here give me place to reside.’

“ Hearing this humble speech of his

“ We left him alone and plundered not his city.”

[48.]

Bhuráj this story disbelieved ;

Again he asked very angrily :

Then Chand the good warrior spoke,

“ Listen, I will tell what happened.

[49.]

“ When westwards we proceeded,

“ Every land conquering, Gujarát we reached

“ From Arbud-giri * southwards we went,

“ There we came to a great jangal.

[50.]

“ A man named Surpál hunted there,

“ He with us in that forest met,

“ Sword in hand a deer-lord he slew,

“ That, being present, with our eyes we saw.

[51.]

* [Mount Aboo.—H. N.]

“ Approaching us to fight with anger he came
 “ ‘ Who are you ? ’ thus he called to us,
 “ We a speech, suiting the time, uttered,
 “ We Someshwar’s tirth are seeking.” [52.]

“ If you wound, we adjure you by Mahesh,*
 “ We desire not with you to fight ;
 “ Then did he service to us.
 “ We of him asked news. [53.]

“ Then Surpál thus spoke,
 “ ‘ I am Jayashikhari’s warrior, firm.’
 “ We said ‘ Like you how many are there ?
 “ ‘ Tell us how many are his forces.’ [54.]

“ ‘ Ten thousand horse has the Gurjar lord at his house,
 “ ‘ Warriors seven are there like me.
 “ ‘ Footmen included, his army numbers a lakh.
 “ ‘ Every one ready to fight with a lakh. [55.]

“ ‘ Always this is Jayashikhari’s custom,
 “ ‘ Of fighting always a complete desire,
 “ ‘ If any one of war bringing him the good news,
 “ ‘ With joy, he gives a present.’ [56.]

“ Hearing this we trod not that path,
 “ Taking another road South we conquered :
 “ I have told the true story, bending my head,
 “ As you will, act now O lord ! ” [57.]

Hearing this the king in his mind received it ;
 With the truth-speaker he was not enraged :
 “ Sixteen Sámants, an army with,
 “ Go and conquer to Jayashikhari’s house.” [58.]

Receiving the order uprose the Sámants,
Each his own force commenced to prepare,
Towards Gurjar land they set forth ;
Omens inauspicious met them on the way. [59.]

First as they went a man sneezed as they met him,
Howled a dog, an omen not good,
Passed on their right hand a cat,
Cried the donkey and kite terribly. [60.]

Meeting them came a widow and a Sanyási,
A Brahmin without a tilak, a mourner,
One with a plate of flour, a woman with her dishevelled hair
Met them ; still they feared not. [61.]

On went the army seeming like a cloud-garland,
Dirty their clothes, dark their complexion.
Now I relate Shankar Kavi's story,
He reached his own house, truly. [62.]

The contest of the great poets Har and Kám Ráj,
Jayashikhari's and King Bhuwad's verses,
The attempt at going to fight in Gurjar,
Fully I have described in this fifth jewel. [63.]

Sixth Jewel.

To his home went Shankar Kavi.
 Again he arrived his sovereign near,
 His two hands joining,
 He spoke openly. [1.]

Of Kanyakubja land's lord
 The army is coming to fight :
 I the King's mood
 Perceiving, knew the matter. [2.]

As the strife of verses had happened
 Kám Ráj the, with,
 He told. That hearing
 The King's heart was joyful. [3.]

War's news hearing
 The earth-lord was pleased.
 Bracelets, ear-rings, finger-rings,
 Clothes, he gave that moment. [4.]

King Bhuwad's force advanced,
 Horses three lacs, elephants one thousand,
 Camels two thousand, cars four thousand,
 Besides missiles and hand weapons without number. [5.]

On the way proud kings subduing,
 Village after village plundering,
 When people hear of the army's approach
 The villages on the way are deserted beforehand. [6.]

Watered lands became dry, dry lands moist,
 In pride advanced many warriors.
 Where at night they made a halt,
 There they established athletic games. [7.]

Missiles and hand weapons they practised continually,
With each other they fought, strong in body ;
In this way they reached Jayashikhar's country,
They plundered Dashaharpur greatly.

[8.]

From Panchasar four koss distant,
They made a camp, prepared to fight,
Going or coming saw they man or woman,
Away to the army they carried them bound.

[9.]

The neighbouring villages too
Daily they plundered.
When he heard the matter, Jayashikhari himself,
From the nails to the crown anger extended.

[10.]

Writing a letter he sent it to Mir,
“ Why are you causing the poor destruction ?
“ If in war you shall conquer me,
“ Then you will acquire fame, not oppressing the poor. [11.]

“ If any one with a blow of a stone strike a dog,
“ Then the dog will bite the stone.
“ Now I will tell you the Kshatri's plan,
“ It is as the lion's, to front the striker. [12.]

“ Do you abandon injuring the poor,
“ I prepared for war am coming.”
Suth a letter writing he despatched it ;
Reading it, Mir sent an answer. [13.]

“ If of kingdom and life you have a wish,
“ Then come to Bhu, Lord of earth,
“ In your mouth taking grass, bend your head ;
“ Then the merciful king will abandon anger. [14.]

" If from your heart you abandon not pride,
" Then fight with me hither coming."
He sent this letter—the Rájá read it ;
All his warriors he thus enjoined. [15.]

" To-morrow going we will fight a battle,
" With me be ready brothers all."
At that time Surpál was not there,
At his own house seated he heard it in the evening. [16.]

Immediately his own force he prepared,
The enemy's army suddenly he surrounded,
Some in music and dancing were at sport,
Some subdued by sleep,—all unprepared. [17.]

Some to plunder had gone the neighbouring villages,
Some were eating and drinking,
Surpál's order, when his followers heard,
With swords drawn they made mighty efforts. [18.]

As without labour grass is cut,
So destroying this army no trouble they found :
Surpál considered much,
" How to combat, finding my equal ? [19.]

" The poor destroying no fame shall I find."
He arrived near Chand, did that warrior strong,
" Seize your arms—your patron Dev remember !"
Saying thus, his sword in his breast he struck. [20.]

Then Dwand his weapons seizing,
Surpál his arm cut off ;
Then the army all made off, each homewards,
Seems as if in a crowd of deer had entered a lion. [21.]

Clothes and shoes abandoning off ran the soldiers,
Seems as if S'iva's army was put to flight by Vishnu,
Some ran away without nose or ears,
Some lost their toes.

[22.]

Some without arms, some one-armed,
Some with their bodies red with blood,
All without turbans, some stark naked,
Some with broken backs, some with broken pates.

[23.]

No one thought about another,
Their own lives saving, fools, they ran ;
In that place Chand gave up the ghost,
Dwand, too, died at the sixth halting-place.

[24.]

The fourteen Sámants were grieved at heart,
Black was the face of the host's leader Mir,
Ved of the Parmár Rájá's race, the warrior,
In mind reflected, very much sorrowing :—

[25.]

“ How shall I show my face the Maharája before,
“ Kási going I will become a Sanyás.”
So thinking Kási-ward he set off,
He took the Sanyás-diksha,—the wise one.

[26.]

Seeing the fire, the Sati who with her husband burned not, going to
the funeral place,
The Yogi who again desired to become a householder, having before
abandoned his house,
The warrior who fled from the field of battle from his enemies, in
heart struck with fear.
Fie to them ! from father and mother : their faces how can they show
remaining alive ?

[27.]

Heard Bhuráj all this story,
 The army did not approach, being much ashamed ;
 Himself then advanced in person,
 He found the army's leader at the eighth halting-place. [28.]

He gave great encouragement to Mir,
 The repentance for flight he assuaged,
 " Back swung wounds a weapon,
 " Without swinging back it has not great force. [29.]

" Falls not like a grasshopper one skilled in the Nitís,
 " Retreats, gives battle, speaks, is silent,
 " Stratagem and guile practising, the unconquered he subdues :
 " Retreating the wise man feels not ashamed." [30.]

Thus saying he composed the leader of the army,
 Then a consultation with him he held,
 He went again to conquer Gurjar Desh,
 Then good omens happened all. [31.]

They met a Pandit Brahman, book in hand ;
 They met a married woman with her son who had gone to fetch water ;
 They met a horseman, a Kshatri, with his arms ;
 They met a gardener bringing in his hand a vessel full of flowers. [32.]

They met a cow with her calf, a worshipped * one,
 The king seeing it was much delighted ;
 He believed it certain that he would conquer his enemies,
 With ardour the king advanced. [33.]

Knowing the matter, the Gujar-land lord,
 That bringing a great force Bhu Nrip advances,
 Prepared for the field of battle he made him,—the Panchásar Bhup,
 Onward he went, like a Yama to his enemies. [34.]

* i. e. Marked with kunku on the forehead, and wearing a garland.

Sounded the war-horn, the terrible drum,
 Heard it Rupsundarí, that sound, with her ear,
 Then her own servant to her lord she sent.
 She began to say, to her own house calling him.

[35.]

“ Performed have I to-day the Ritu-Snán,
 “ To war to go is not right Maháráj !
 “ Remain to-night, depart in the morning,
 “ If not, to you great sinfulness will fall.

[36.]

“ Thou knowest well the Shastras all.
 “ Ask, if not, the Pandits assembling them before you.”
 Hearing it remained he that night with her,
 Many lamps, much sandal incense he burned.

[37.]

He made a couch of flowers, perfumes the, with,
 Husband and wife amorously embraced,
 The wife her husband anointed with oil,
 She washed him, and gave him clothes.

[38.]

She placed on her lord's forehead a chandlo of kunkum,
 She placed the akshat, she felt great joy,
 Of flowers a garland she placed with love,
 Praise and salutation she paid as to a Dev.

[39.]

She placed before her lord a plate of food,
 They eat together with perfect tenderness,
 They played together a game of dice,
 Blandishment and dalliance with, they sported with their eyes.

[40.]

Hearing Rupsundarí's spoken words,
 Would lose command of his mind even a Jati Lord proud.
 Who is Tilottamá ? Pulomjá who ?
 Shachí even is not equal to Rupsundarí.

[41.]

It became morning ; Bhuráj's army came ;
 Panchásar-pur they surrounded.
 To destroy the gates they began in pride,
 The citizens much grief causing. [51.]

Rising Jayashikhari came to the door ;
 The news the Gadpál* related.
 The Sámants all he gave command ;
 The army immediately they all prepared. [52.]

To each door he sent Sámants,
 Each with his force went to the fight ;
 Sounded then the Pranav,† the turi, the trumpet,
 The gomukh, the horn, the drum with splendour. [52.]

When Jayashikhari went, then the Rání,
 Began to salute him, tears in her eyes, .
 " I, without wisdom, poor, thy servant,
 " Pardon my fault, in heart retaining affection." [54.]

With kind regard he looked towards her,
 He went away, having consoled the lady.
 Began to quiver the left side of the Rání,
 She knew "Bad is the presage of this." [55.]

Destiny-enthralled the whole world knowing,
 With collected mind remained the Pat-Rání ;
 To the eastern door Bhu Nrip came ;
 Knowing it, eastwards went the Rájá. [56.]

Northwards, Mir-opposing, went Surpál ;
 Began they with each other a terrible fight.
 Noon it became, neither was defeated ;
 To eat food they turned—the strong ones. [57.]

Having eaten his food, the Gujar-land's Rájá
Seated himself, assembling a splendid Court,
Each chieftain's ancestry and valour praising,
He spoke warrior-exciting words.

[58.]

Again to all his warriors true, he said,
"Go to foreign lands those who love their lives."
Then answered Surpál, the clever,
"In this land I have heard of none such.

[59.]

"For one day only, any one's food eating,
"In calamity going afar, who remains,
"The flesh of him the crow would eat not ;
"For a krore of Kalpas he would remain in hell.

[60.]

"The reason of examining ancestry is this very one,
"That a man of good race does not desert looking to his own safety.
"Honour much desires the noble ;
"Honour to gain wealth and life he rejects."

[61.]

Hearing this the king his army preparing went,
Fifty and two days the battle lasted ;
One day Bhuráj said to Mir,
"How shall we conquer the Gujaráti bold?"

[62.]

Mir bravely, bending his head,
To the King made answer clever,
"The Sám means do not suit now ;
"The Dám means may still be used.

[63.]

"If we can make Surpál our own,
"Then without trouble Gujar-land we take."
At Bhuráj's order a letter writing,
He sent it to Surpál secretly.

[64.]

"In all my kingdom a half share yours,
 "If to me you offer no opposition.
 "Famous * as your sovereign's helper,
 "In heart my interest regard. [65.]

"Between us Shankar be a witness,
 "What you have to say that write."
 He wrote such a letter with the milk of arkk :
 "Worshipping kunkum," he enjoined verbally. [66.]

"If my speech please you not,
 "Keep it secret, thinking of Purári."
 The paper in his hand Surpál took,
 By worshipping kunkum the letters became apparent. [67.]

Reading it in his mind to reflect he began,
 "He thinks me a villain, this wretched fellow."
 Bhu Rájá answering he wrote a letter,
 In a servant's hand he placed it. [68.]

"O fool ! I am well born,
 "How of seducing me do you entertain hope ?
 "The three worlds' royalty could any give ?
 "None but a bastard would take it. [69.]

"I and Jayashikhári both are friends,
 "As water and milk have friendship pure :
 "If boils the milk, the water sinks below.
 "If boils the water, the milk overflows into the fire." [70.]

Bhu Nrip became hopeless thus reading :
 He knew their friendship true,
 Surpál to his own lord did not tell it ;
 Because of Shankar's oath he did not make the matter known. [71.]

Cold* is the moon, not cold the fire, bitter the ocean, sweet is Ganges,
The keshri * angry, destitute of anger the wise man ; on the earth
travels a man, in the sky a bird :

A good man speaks true, falsely a bad man, each loves his own way of
proceeding.

They all are clever in their own way ; this is from old, it is no new
matter. [72.]

Jayashikhari against Bhu Rájá's army,

In the hope of conquering, came to the enemy's house.

The army was destroyed, again the king made endeavours,

To the enemy's city he came. This has been told in the sixth
Jewel. [73.]

* [The lion.—H. N.]

Seventh Jewel.

The seventh jewel I am constructing,
 Ishta Dev's feet worshipping,
 Of all the world the first! He who has no beginning! Prabhu!
 Who is called the creator of the World. [1.

He of whom day and night, the Dev's lord performs the worship.
 Whom the four-handed one worships,
 Whom the lords of the three worlds pay honour to,
 I long to recollect him night and day,
 Such a Prabhu wise, the sustainer of the Earth.
 A pure composition I am making, with certain hope ;
 A treasury of good things, the protector of all, the splendid,
 His feet with love worshipping, I relate the war of Bhuráj. [2.

At night, each in his own army the Ráys,
 The Mahábhárats stories caused to be recited,
 From hearing which increases the zeal for fighting,
 The manner of war is also learned. [3.

Hearing Bhim's exploits of wonder,
 The Gujar warriors became full of zeal,
 They ask " When will the night pass away ?
 " When will the morning come, the time of battle ? " [4.

As the husband's coming longs for the lonely wife,
 So all the brave warriors longed for the morning till it came ;
 As from the instructions of the Mahábhárat they had learned,
 That the battle-slain weds an Apsará. [5.

Therefore pleased they longed for the Dev's residence,
 Abandoning this home of wood and dust :
 Jayashikhari in the morning ordering,
 The warriors all of them got ready, the splendid. [6.]

In the field of battle conquering, they hoped not to return ;
 Fighting to die, and marry the Suris was their desire :
 Such steadfastness of the warriors perceiving,
 For marriage prepared the divine brides. [7.]

When the good warriors their armour donned,
 The Apsarás dressed themselves in gay clothes :
 When the good warriors grasped their arms,
 Then the good Málá the Suris took in their hands. [8.]

When the valiant men seated them in cars of various kinds,
 The divine virgins seated them in their celestial chariots :
 Jayashikhari went to battle, then
 Rupsundarí thus spake :— [9.]

“ A Brahman, a cow, a fruit, a flower, milk, a jewel, a courtesan, curds,
 • an elephant, a clever man ;
 “ A horse, a chattra, a mirror, water, honey, a peafowl, liquor, one
 bearing meat ;
 “ Arms, a deer, a virgin, a woman with her son, a hair-fan, musical
 instruments, new clothes ;
 “ O Lord ! Good omens thus seeing, with joy proceed, steeped in
 zeal for battle. [10.]

“ Wood, a snake, grass, leather, a pair of scales, salt, gold, oil, one who
 has no son, fire ;
 “ An enemy, a quarrelsome man, one with dishevelled hair, a pro-
 fligate, a man or woman whose wife or husband are absent,
 a beggar, a yogi, a man with long hair ;

- “ Butter-milk, an eunuch, medicine, rubbish, an insane person, a dirty fellow, one who uses bad language ;
 “ Such omens seeing, examining them, with joy homewards return,
 dear husband. [11.]

- “ If the left side of a woman start
 “ Or the right side of a man,
 “ To the person some calamity will arise
 “ Within twenty-four hours.” [12.]

- At that time near Jayashikhari
 Came one skilled in astrology :
 The lord of earth asked the moon-omen.
 Said the Ganak learned— [13.]

- “ Abandon in the time when your sign is in power,
 “ Five works, O Raja :
 “ Pilgrimage, war, marriage,
 “ Shaving, entering a new house. [14.]

- “ If you go on a pilgrimage, death, in war defeat,
 “ In marriage widowhood,
 “ In shaving disease, in entering a new house,
 “ The destruction of the house, O Lord of men !” [15.]

JAYASHIKHARI SPEAKS.

- “ When an enemy comes the city near,
 “ When the days of marriageableness are going,
 “ Then Muhurts or omens,
 “ Are not to be regarded, so say the Shastras. [16.]

- “ When omens good or bad have happened,
 “ When there is work which cannot be delayed,
 “ Then I have heard from the Puráns,
 “ One must think of the name of Krishna.” [17.]

His army Jayashikhari taking, with resolute heart, before Bhuwad's
 army went in such a way as this,—
 Drums were beating, bheris, dhonsás, pranavs are sounding as the rain
 in the sky ;
 Rattle rattle the good carriages, neigh neigh many horses, buzz the
 bees on the elephants' heads ;
 The battle-field warriors, wives and houses from their minds dismissing,
 "kill, die, kill," such words cry out. [18.]

Advancing, hope increases, " Alone in the field I will sport :"
 " Without wings, travelling in the sky, how can I arrive there, and with
 the edge of the sword drive back the enemy's army ?"
 Thus they came to the door of the fort. Their language hearing, the
 army of King Bhuwad became prepared.
 " Seize arms, look not behind, Kill, kill," thus crying they advance. [19.]

The frightened valorous making when heard, such battle-music sung
 the minstrels :
 As clouds are forced together in the sky by the power of the wind, so
 the two armies came together without considering :
 As lightning gleam the weapons, running with strength they destroy
 their opponents :
 Resounds the earth with their tread, striking their enemies they are
 pleased. [20.]

A rain of arrows seems fit to destroy the world, stones, hals, mushals,
 mudgals, strike blows.*
 Pharus, tomars, gadás, tridents, also staves. Shaktis, changals, strik-
 ing they exclaim.
 Elephant with elephant, horse with horse struggles, with car-lord
 car-lord fights.
 In single combat like prize-fighters in some places they fight, the noise
 of their blows rises to the sky. [21.]

* हल, मुशल, मुद्गल, परसु, तोमर, शक्ति, चंगल, परिय.

Seizing each other by the hair some are fighting, some taking each other by the ear ;

Seizing his opponent by the feet one casts him to the ground, taking him by the hand or throat another causes him death :

Fall on the earth heads as if Sivá's necklace was broken, the warriors sported with them as children with balls ;

Here there fights a headless trunk, there a handless body ; against the enemy it runs as if unwounded. [22.]

No one knows what wounds he has received, so great is the zeal for fighting : though the body be maimed no one knows it.

The dead on the ground perceiving; the valiant man acquires zeal in heart for the battle :

A river of blood flowed in which shields floated tortoise-like, swords like fishes, elephants like mukurs.

Heads seem lotuses, broken cars seem boats, arms look like snakes. [23.]

Each snatching the teeth from elephants strikes his foe, thinks the time he has longed for arrived :

Seeing the terrible field away run cowards, laughs seeing it the Kshatris' son :

If any retreats, him encourage the minstrels, " O Warrior, if you call yourself a Kshatri's son,

" From this battle-pilgrimage not again to be found, acquire world-fame, desire another world. [24.]

" In the place of battle, from love of his body, a valiant man flying will not secure an immortal body ;

" His mother and father the world will abuse, among men how can the fool show his face ?

" The Pitri Dev will not receive from him lump or water. In the morning rising no one will look at his face.

" The Devs will not receive worship from him : though living, people will look on him as a pret. [25.]

"In the king's court he will find no respect, behind him every one will point the finger : *

"For a little body do not spoil a great work, let the trunk fight though the head be struck off.

"Sacrificing, the place the sacrificer attains, that place now easily lay hold of :

" ' Well done ! Well done ! ' cause gods and men to exclaim ; in this world and the other be immortal. [26.]

"First considering in fight advance the foot, afterwards do not consider hoping for life.

"To die determining, fear far remove ; do not think first * of destroying the foe."

Hearing their words with greater zeal for battle, fight the obstinate
• valiant warriors ;

Minstrels their race's fame extol ; " Such was the warrior of your race of old." [27.]

The very powerful champions of the Mahábhárata, Bhím, and Dharm, and Karn,

Arjun, &c.'s valour praising, they compare to them the warriors :

In the skies standing the immortals began to look ; they thought that the fight had again arisen in the Kuru Kshetra ;

Danced the Apsarás, played the Gandharvas, trembled the Devs, men, and snakes. [28.]

Siva's army † thither came all of them, Dákinís, Shákinís, Bhuts, Prets, Yoginís fill their cups with blood, drinking blood they became intoxicated :

Some the warriors' entrails taking, string necklaces of beads, on their necks placing these Rundmálás :

Vultures and Bájás and other carnivorous birds satisfied then their hunger. [29.]

* i. e. Let your first desire be a glorious death.

† Who are supposed to attend such scenes, like vultures.

Here taking a warrior's arm a bird soars into the sky, some their prey
taking perch on the trees :

Dogs and jackals crunch the bones of men, crows break the eye-doors.
The army of Surpál became very strong, Bhuwad's Sámant Bhat they
drove back ;

The minstrels 'gan abuse him ; repenting he was ashamed. [30.]

Knowing the matter king Bhuwad thus spoke, " Who flies, him I will
slay."

To his own heart Bhat began to give advice—" Fie on thee my heart,
you have spoiled my life."

His own heart not trusting, in his belly with his own hand he thrust a
dagger.

Then folding a cloth over it, abandoning the hope of life, he rushed
against the enemy, weapon in hand. [31.]

His shout hearing Swarg, Pátál and the earth scattered,* trembled
the elephants of the Dig-pál :

Moveable and immoveable, the whole world, Meru, the ocean began to
shake, flowing rivers stopped, Siva forgot his meditation :

The army of Jayashikhari he much destroyed ; in his body entered
many arrows :

Seemed it like a crowd of winged snakes seated on a sandal tree. [32.]

Seeing him, † Surpál, as a great Kál[†] incarnate, abandoned the hope of
victory,

Rushing on he struck off Bhat's head. The army destroyed the west
side of the fort.

Said Jayashikhari then calling to Surpál, " If you would preserve the
seed of my race,

" Your pregnant sister taking to some pur or jangal, obeying my
injunctions, this moment go." [33.]

* Became unhinged.

† i. e. Surpál seeing that Bhat was a great Kál.

This order Surpál did not regard ; then spoke he, " In my race there is none to offer tilodak :

" Pind-dán the purwaj will not obtain, sonless liberation is not attainable, O brother !

" The enemy's rule will be thornless, the seed of my race will be destroyed ;

" For my advantage, the fruit of our great love considering it, do this immediately as I have told it you." [34.]

Seeing the matter pressing, away went Surpál ; taking his sister he retired to the jangal :

Without a road ten koss having travelled, Rupsundarí asked her brother, then he spoke,

" O sister ! concealing you with some good man, I go near our lord to the battle :

" The hope of life has been destroyed in all—Do you preserve your child, in some good place remaining." [35.]

Very sorrowful became when she heard it Rupsundarí. To her brother thus she then spoke—

" In my lord's calamity how can I remain in comfort ? With my lord I will burn my body."

Says Surpál, " The child of your pregnancy preserve ; thence some day will spring a great race :

" If not, destroying your child, you will have the sin of putting to death the whole race." [36.]

Firmly seated herself in that place Rupsundarí ; " Go thou, directly, delay not !

" My lord in the field of battle abandoning how have you come hither from avarice of life."

Hearing this, in heart sorrowing, with dejected face, immediately Surpál went towards the battle.

Bhuwad's Bhat's death regarding as wonderful on both sides, the combatants cried " Well done Bhat, well done." [37.]

To your mother and father praise,
Praise too to the ground of this place,
Praise to your birth, praise to your death ;
You whose valour enemies praise.” [38.

Jayashikhári's and Bhuraj's battle,
The field of battle's manner I have well related :
Slain was Bhat, the wife was saved by their endeavours.
In full detail this has been related, the seventh jewel. [39.]

Eighth Jewel.

Bhu-nrip then to Jayashikhari
Spoke by the mouth of a servant,
“ If you desire life,
“ Do what I say, O brother.

[1.]

“ Your hands behind you tying, in mouth taking grass,
“ Your head at my feet place :
“ I will then return to Kanyakubja.
“ You shall hold the royalty of Gurjar.”

[2.]

Hearing this Jayashikhari said,
“ Not am I a low fellow, or an ignorant,
“ That losing Swarg I should take Gujjar ;
“ I desire it as a blade of grass.

[3.]

“ In the Chápotkat race born,
“ With the mouth admitting defeat,
“ Again in life what pleasure is there,
“ Obtaining the world's abuse ?

[4.]

“ How shall the sea keep its limits,
“ The shesh-nág would abandon its place ;
“ How shall sun or moon illumine the sky,
“ If I the sole member of my race abandon its * rights ? ” [5.]

Hearing what the servant said, Bhuráj
Became very much enraged :
To destroy the fort, the lord of the land to kill
He ordered immediately.

[6.]

Of Bhuwad's army remained a lakh ;
 Jayashikhari near, ten warriors with honour.
 Advanced that army, making shouts mighty ;
 Gujjur's lord, the king, fearless remained. [7.]

The army he cuts, seems one cutting grass ;
 As the tank's lotuses breaks the elephant in sport ;
 The Dig-elephants seem, Hari's order receiving,
 The world's destruction causing, to have come. [8.]

The Pándus sons and Kaurav's war,
 In the Kurukshetra seems fought again.
 One warrior two thousand troops
 Destroying, thus died the ten with honour. [9.]

Jayashikhari war for three days waged ;
 His arms both cut off, he was without a weapon.
 King Bhuwad's chest thereon he planted a kick. (Only
 three lines.) [10.]

Down fell Bhuraj, senseless becoming,
 "Yam's house he has reached," so thought the people ;
 Jayashikhari's back approaching,
 Two mulls cut off his head with blow of sword. [11.]

Three days long fought the trunk, then fell ;
 Bhuráj awakening thus spoke,
 "Honour to your father and mother, Kshatri's son ;
 "You are a bit of an immortal, of great exploits. [12.]

"At the place of your death a temple good
 "Gujjaresh Shambhú enthroning I will build."
 Saying thus repeatedly saluting,
 In the city without fear he entered surrounding it. [13.]

Many fighting died the door-keepers,
 Many palace guards,
 Jayashikhari's death hearing, destroyed themselves :
 Many each other wounding expired. [14.]

Many from upper windows leaping fell,
 Some at the hearing immediately expired :
 Bhuráj's army plundered the city,
 The king's palace they came near. [15.]

Five hundred female servants in hand sword seizing,
 Or door-bars taking, came thereout;
 Some naked in body, some with robes succinct,
 Abandoning hope of life, became blind for the fight. [16.]

Some seizing men by the throat press them to the ground;
 Some, flesh with their teeth are tearing;
 Some seizing men by the privates cause them pain;
 The dog-like howling fills all the city. [17.]

Fled the army to each city gate,
 Them after the woman's cry "kill, kill;"
 Four koss flying they made a halt,
 Then the women returned to the king's funeral place. [18.]

Of good scented wood a pile they made,
 Many cocoanuts they mixed therewith;
 With pure rites the corpse they burned,
 Four Queens also came, therewith they burned. [19.]

Many slaves and damsels burned,
 Village-people love-thralled fell on the pile;
 Bhuráj with his army back came,
 Burning of men they caused to cease, the city surrounding. [20.]

They caused Shrâddh to be performed by the Guru's son,
 The pyre-burning remained for three months ;
 A temple of Shambhu there they made,
 Gujjaresh was the name they gave the god. [21.]

Jayashikhari made with his servants,
 In the two worlds glorious, a home in Swarg ;
 Gujjar-Desh seized to his hand Bhurâj :
 Kachh, Soruth, &c. lords he took under his control. [22.]

Gujarât-desh very good perceiving,
 He began to seek, did Bhurâj, a residence for himself ,
 " Surpâl has not died," thus hearing he was afraid,
 Thorny knowing it homewards he went. [23]

Appointing a Pradhân in Gujarât-desh,
 On Kachh, Soruth, &c. he fixed a tax.
 When that his sister's-lord had died,
 Surpâl heard, from head to foot the glow arose [24

In heart he considered " If fighting I die,
 " Thornless then will Bhurâj's kingdom be,
 " Passed is now what was to pass ;
 " Now for the future counsel must be taken. . [25.]

" If to my sister a son fortune shall grant,
 " Gujarât's royalty I will again take ;
 " Without me that work cannot be done."
 He went to seek his sister, this plan laying [26.]

He found her not, then Ravat near
 His residence, secret, he wisely made ;
 Some too relate, in heart ashamed,
 His sister near went not the brother. [27.]

The day that Jayashikharī found his death,
Obscured was the Day-lord, terrible were the four points¹ of the
compass.

The earth trembled, the river's water became muddy ;
The sacrificial fire smoked, hot was the wind. [28.]

Down fell stars, mens' minds were sorrowful ;
These signs seeing men knew a great man had perished.
Rupsundarī met there, some Bhīll-woman,
A king's-queen knowing her, she spoke a speech. [29.]

" In the forest with me remain, O sister !
" Fruits, flowers, leaves for food can be had in the mountains :"
Hearing her entreaty she remained with her ;
There was born a good son after nine full months. [30.]

Vikramājī's year I know,
Hundreds seven and two and fifty,*
'Twas the Rituwasant then, the heap of delight,
Waishak month, the day the fifteenth. [31.]

At the time of sunrise rose the sun of the land,
Brahmans and cows-protector, of exploits full ;
That day clear rose the sun,
The sky was clear, clear the river's stream. [32.]

The Brahman's sacrificial pits emitted no smoke ;
" Arisen has," men knew, " some mighty man."
When he became six months' old, the boy
To the forest came a Yati at that time. [33.]

From a tree's branches seeing a cradle swinging,
The swinger like one of Indra's,
Astonished he inquired the story,
A king's queen knowing her, he brought her to the city. [34.]

In the forest took place his birth, therefore
The Sanyási gave him the name of Van Ráj.
Of Jayashikharí's death the story he told,
The child's protection, assuring the mourning one, he promised. [35.]

Bhuráj's minister ever alarm,
Surpál causes, remaining in his forest-seat.
His sister's son hearing to have been born,
Secretly bringing him he kept him near him. [36.]

Wanráj attained years fourteen,
Such his age became, a lion-child like,
Of valour great, of strength and prudence,
Gujarát to rule he wishes. [37.]

ART. III.—*On the Legend of Tristan.* By EDWARD TYRELL
LEITH, LL.B.

Read April 9th 1868.

AMONG the themes of mediæval Romance few possess such striking elements of poetical interest as the Legend of Tristan. I fear, however, that it is not so widely known as it deserves to be, and I may therefore be pardoned for briefly giving those main outlines of the story which are common to most of the versions that we have.

Tristan of Lyonesse, the hero, is royally descended. The mysterious gloom, which shrouds the very threshold of his life, appears prophetic of the tragedy about to be unfolded. His mother, on learning that his father has fallen in battle, dies in giving him birth. Kept in ignorance of his parentage, the orphan Prince is secretly brought up by Rual, a trusty follower, and educated by him in all knightly accomplishments. When grown to man's estate, Tristan presents himself at the court of his childless uncle King Mark of Cornwall, who, on hearing his history, adopts him as a son. To save his country from paying a shameful tribute of men and money to the neighbouring Irish, Tristan slays Morold, their champion, in single combat. The youthful victor, however, at the same time receives a dangerous wound from the poisoned weapon of his foe, which no native art can cure. He, therefore, absents himself from his uncle's court, and lands disguised in Ireland, where he is fortunately cured by Isolde, surnamed the Fair, daughter of the Irish King. Tristan eventually returns to Cornwall, and paints the charms of the Princess in such glowing colours, that Mark resolves to make her his Queen. Tristan undertakes to woo her on behalf of his uncle, and journeys to Ireland for that purpose. On his arrival at the Irish court, he learns that the King has promised his daughter's hand to the man who should rid the land of a terrible dragon. Tristan succeeds in killing the monster, and claims the prize in his uncle's name. The King gives his consent, and Tristan sets sail with Isolde the Fair for Cornwall. On the voyage they both unwittingly drink of a Magic Potion, entrusted to the care of Brangæne a waiting-woman, and destined for King Mark.

This Potion possesses the property of making those who partake of it deeply enamoured of each other; and it is upon this effect on Tristan and Isolde that the whole story turns. Isolde becomes the wife of Mark, but continues devoted to Sir Tristan. Mark discovers the attachment, and persecutes the lovers, who practice various deceptions in order to effect a meeting, and even succeed in making their escape together. Isolde the Fair afterwards returns to her husband, while Tristan, driven to despair, weds another Isolde, named "of the White Hand." Our hero vainly endeavours to forget his first love in deeds of reckless daring. On again receiving a grievous hurt in battle, he sends for her who alone can work his cure. His messenger is instructed to hoist, on his return, white sails should his errand prove successful, and black sails if the reverse. Isolde of the White Hand, jealous of her rival, tells Tristan that she descries a black sail on the horizon, though in reality the sail is a white one. Bereft of hope he dies, and Isolde the Fair, finding on her arrival that her aid has come too late, dies also, of grief, by his side. King Mark, when he hears of the Magic Potion and its unhappy effects, causes the lovers to be buried in one tomb, on which he plants a rose and a vine. These afterwards grow up so closely entwined one with another that none can ever separate them.

This legend, which struck the key-note of Romance, was, from its very nature, likely to captivate the imagination of mediæval writers. Sir Tristan's knightly prowess and Isolde's queenly beauty were the representative types of the heroes and heroines of chivalry. Their ill-starred loves formed the favourite theme of the poet, while their constancy under every misfortune became proverbial throughout Europe. The thoroughly human interest which attaches to the legend alone makes it an attractive study to the modern reader; yet its history is no less instructive and curious, as I shall attempt to show in the present paper. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of cultivated minds at the present day is the intense interest with which they follow every attempt to clear the early history of man from the mists which have hitherto shrouded it from modern gaze. All branches of knowledge are being pressed into the service of the scientific explorer, but few equal Comparative Mythology in importance. The history of the Tristan Legend is, I venture to say, an interesting contribution to that science. The germ of the tale is to be found in one of a class of myths widely diffused over the old world, and to it a gradual accretion of myths,

belonging to other classes, appears to have taken place. These various materials were subsequently moulded by Romance into the legend we have before us. In view of these facts, I propose to deal with its early mythic origin, its development in mediæval Romance, and its reappearance in modern Drama.

German writers, such as Von Groote,* Mone,† and Kurtz‡ have attempted to elucidate the origin of the legend by comparing it with various ancient myths. The singular resemblances, which were thus brought to light, led them to trace it to a common source in the deification of the powers of nature. The earliest objects of mythological worship were unquestionably personifications of the phenomena observable in the physical universe. Nature's mysterious powers, before which man found himself so helpless, would be worshipped as good or as evil divinities, whose aid was to be supplicated or whose anger was to be averted, according as they were likely to assist or thwart his undertakings. There gradually arose by the side of these another class of deities. Mortals, who during life had been distinguished for their physical or their mental qualities, were raised after death by the popular imagination into heroes. In course of time these latter, from being looked upon as the guardians of the national fortunes, were confounded with the earlier gods, and became in their turn objects of divine worship. The wondrous legends associated with their names in popular tradition thus grew up into the myths of a national Pantheon. In these myths we find the relations of human life employed to symbolize the operations of nature as shown forth in the seasons and the movements of the heavenly bodies. Such fables were embodied by the priesthood into Religious Mysteries, in which it was not improbably sought to preserve esoteric truths from the gaze of the vulgar under the veil of allegory. Most prominent among these truths would be the close relation between the material and spiritual worlds, the struggle between good and evil, and the existence of a future state.

* VON GROOTE. *Tristan, von Meister Gotfrit von Strassburg, mit der Fortsetzung des Meisters Ulrich von Thurheim*: Berlin, G. Reimer, 1821.

† MONE. *Einleitung in C. von Groote's Ausgabe von Tristan und Isolde. Also Ueber die Sage von Tristan, etc.* Heidelberg, 1822.

‡ KURTZ. *Tristan und Isolde, Gedicht von Gottfried von Strassburg*: Stuttgart, Becher, 1847.

In the Mysteries the departure of Summer, the gloomy reign of Winter, and the approach of Spring were celebrated almost universally under the allegory of a beautiful youth, the Sun-god, violently slain, and mourned by his true love Nature until he is at length restored to life. The Egyptians symbolized this by the murder of Osiris at the hand of his brother Typhon, who flung the corpse of his victim, enclosed in a chest, into the river Nile. After a sorrowful search, his consort Isis found it, and succeeded in bringing her lord to life again. Osiris becomes the King of Amenthe, the realm of the dead, where Isis under the name of Nephthys shares his throne for half the year. Hindu Mythology describes the death and resurrection of the god Kama in a similar manner. The Phœnicians yearly commemorated the untimely end of Thammuz on the banks of the stream, whose waters were said to have been stained purple with his blood. Hence arose, also, the Grecian fable of the fair Adonis, whose loss Aphrodite so passionately mourned, that Persephone, Queen of Hades, restored him to her for a portion of the year. In Phrygia we meet with Cybele's wild grief for Atys her shepherd lover, her wanderings in search of him and his return once more to life. The people of Cius in Bythinia held sacred the memory of Hylas, carried beneath the stream by nymphs enamoured of his beauty. Festivals, also, were held in Greece in honour of Dionysus-Zagreus the Wine-god, who, having been cruelly torn in pieces by the Titans, came to life again, and sought his mother Semele in the Underworld. Similar tales were told of the tragic deaths of Linus, Hyacinthus, Narcissus and Heracles, of the Thracian Corybas, of the Cabiric Esmun, of Melicertes at Corinth, Mitras in Persia, and of the Scandinavian Baldur and Sigurd. The allegory was, also, sometimes presented under a different form, as in the rape of Kore by Pluto, or in the touching tales of Orpheus and Eurydice, of Admetus and Alceste.

Besides this tale of the suffering god, there is also another, which is often found interwoven with it, and which belongs to the same family of solar myth. I refer to that of the god or hero triumphant in combat with giants and dragons. Thus, probably also, as some suggest, were commemorated the sanguinary struggles caused by dynastic changes, foreign invasions, and the introduction of new religions. We see, however, underlying such tales, the deeper truth of the great conflict between good and evil, in which the former is ultimately the victor. In Egypt war was waged by Seb the serpent and his giants against Ophion

the Good Principle; in India by Vrita against Indra; in Persia by Ahriman against Ormuzd; in Greece by the Titans against the Gods; and in Scandinavia by Fenrir against Odin and the Æsir. Of a similar character is the terrible vengeance wrought by the Huns on the Burgundians, with which the "Nibelungenlied" so tragically ends. The same idea is expressed in the tale of the valiant hero rescuing a beautiful maiden from the power of a malignant monster, and receiving her hand as his reward. I will merely point, for example, to the legends told of the Egyptian Peres or the serpent Typhon, of Perseus and Andromeda, of Apollo and the Python, and of Theseus and Ariadne, in which we may notice the singular parallels that even many of the names suggest.*

In the Tristan Legend we recognise traces of the same old fable of the Sun-god, whose yearly death the great goddess Earth or Nature mourns. At the same time it is allowed, that the hero himself may well have been, nay probably was, an historical character, whose memory continued to live in the traditions of his country. Tristan, like Perseus and other ancient heroes, by slaying a monster, wins a Princess as his prize. His love for the two Isoldes resembles the double union of Adonis to Aphrodite and Persephone, and of Osiris to Isis and Nephthys on Earth and in Hades. It is also worthy of notice, that as Osiris is said to have abolished the custom of eating human flesh, so too the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur, and of Tristan over Morold put an end to a tribute of human beings,—stories supposed to signify the abolition of human sacrifice from the national worship. The incident of the Black Sail is told in the Theseus legend in connection with the fate of the aged Ægeus. A woman's bitter jealousy of her rival is the indirect cause of the deaths both of Tristan and Siegfried. The sad search of Isis for Osiris, of Nepte for her daughter Isis, of Demeter for Persephone, and the mourning of Nanna for Baldur find parallels in the wanderings of Rual after his fosterchild Tristan, and the loving journey of Isolde the Fair to save the life of her

* Kurtz (p. lx.) points out, that the dragon *Photan*, which appears in the legend of "Wigalois," bears a name curiously resembling Python and Typhon.

dying lord. Much of the original Sun-myth is doubtless no longer to be found in Romance, more especially that portion which relates to the hero's return to life. The possibility, however, of Tristan's life being saved by the magical skill of the first Isolde may be said to recall, in some degree, the promised resurrection of Osiris if his scattered limbs be reunited, and that of Baldur the Beautiful should all things weep for him.

The story of Tristan's birth and childhood belongs to the widely-spread myth of the Royal Foundling, who is secretly nurtured, and afterwards happily reinstated in his rights. The sad circumstances under which he first sees the light are more or less similar to those related of Osiris and his two sons Horus and Harpocrates, of Hagen in the Siegfried legend, and others, such as the Teutonic Wolfriedrich; the French Ogier le Danois and the British Launcelot. The hero's ignorance of his parentage is reproduced in the tales of Cyrus, Siegfried, Öttnit, Reinhold, and the twin founders of Rome; while Rual acts the same fatherly part by Tristan that Mithradates, Faustus, Meran and others do by their infant charges.

The last class of myths, which I intend to mention in connection with the Tristan Legend, is that to which the Magic Potion belongs. Magic Potions in Myth appear of different kinds. Some confer the gifts of immortality, of beauty, or of knowledge; others stimulate the passion of love, produce madness or oblivion, enervate the physical powers, or heal deadly hurts. The earliest, and perhaps the best known, are the various drinks of the gods in all ancient mythologies. We have the Vedic Soma or Amrita, the Iranian Haoma, the Greek Nectar and Ambrosia, and the Teutonic Mead, in all of which Aryan myths the original idea of the cloud-water lies. The sacramental chalice of the *Ἀγᾶθος Δαίμων* in the Dionysia, the bowl of Isis, the Water of Life of Persian fable, Lethe's stream, the *Κύπελλον* of the Eleusinian neophyte, and the enchanted cup of Circe are all akin to those divine draughts. The Celtic race possessed other myths of this class in the world-famous Holy Graal, which had the power of even restoring the dead to life; the golden basins of Bran the Blessed and Peredur; and Taliesin's wondrous Brew of Science. Mediæval Magic derived its Elixir Vitæ, its love-philtres and witches' cauldron from the same source; while

in the Sigurd Legend we meet with a mythic draught, the *Ominnisæl*, employed to make the hero forget his love.*

Leaving aside all speculation as to the cause of the singular family likeness which appears in these myths, we are next met by the question, Whence does the Tristan Legend come to us? There has been much diversity of opinion on this point. Some have maintained, on the authority of early chroniclers, that, at the time of the Saxon descents into Britain, great numbers of the British took refuge in Armorica, hence called Bretagne or Brittany, and carried with them the legend, among their old traditions, into their new home. According to others it was introduced from England into Normandy and Brittany by Anglo-Norman Minstrels, at the time when those provinces belonged to the English crown. A third hypothesis makes it indigenous to Brittany. There can, however, be no doubt as to its British source. Tristan himself figures in the Welsh Triads, which give a mythical history of Britain from the earliest times down to the VII century of our era.† According to that work, the three great swine-herds of Britain were Pryderi son of Pwyll, Col son of Collvrewi, and Trystan son of Tallwch. Trystan, while tending the swine of March (Mark), falls in love with Essyllt (Isolde), the wife of the latter. March and his companions, of whom Arthur is one, conduct an expedition against Trystan to recover the swine, but without success. Trystan was also one of the three heralds whose mandates were law, and one of the three crowned chieftains famed for their inflexible will. He was, lastly, one of the three illustrious warriors who had the conduct of the mystic rites at Arthur's court. Essyllt herself was one of the three British spouses notorious for their

* See on this subject KUHN. *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*: Berlin, Dümmler, 1859. See also *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*, herausgegeben von FELIX LIEBRECHT: Hannover, Ruempler, 1856, as to the miraculous dew that falls from heaven on Christmas-night (p. 2), and the note thoreon (p. 56). Liebrocht calls attention to a similar tradition in Iceland and Scandinavia concerning the dew on St. John's night. He also refers to the *Nucta* or miraculous drop of Egypt, said to heal the plague (see note to Moore's *Lalla Rookh*), and to the mythic dew shaken off the manes of the steeds of the Valkyriur. See GRIMM. *Deutsche Mythologie*: Göttingen. 1854, p. 393. Grimm has also an interesting chapter on *Heilawac*, or water supposed to possess magical properties (Ibid, p. 551).

† *The Mymyrian Archaeology of Wales*, vol. II., cited by Davies in his *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, etc.* London, Booth, 1809.

infidelity to their husbands, a characteristic which has been curiously preserved to the heroine in Romance. Besides these traces of a mythical Tristan in Celtic Britain, we also possess others in a fragment of a Welsh poem, said to be at least as old as the X century A.D.* An introduction informs us, that it is a dialogue between Trystan and Gwalchmai son of Guiar. Trystan, crossed in love, has absented himself for the space of three years from Arthur's court. That monarch thereupon sends twenty-eight of his followers to bring the exile back. Trystan, however, slays them all, and only consents to listen to the words of Gwalchmai the Golden-tongued, with whose appeal the poem commences. Trystan is finally persuaded to visit Arthur, who welcomes him as his nephew, and conjures him by their ancient friendship to return to his allegiance. With Tristan's submission the fragment unfortunately ends. M. de la Villemarqué, in his interesting work on ancient Celtic legends, † calls attention to the fact, that most of these details are to be found in some of the later Romances of Tristan.‡ He also compares the tale of the Love Potion to the Magical Brew of Science, already mentioned, which occurs in the old Welsh legend of Taliesin in the "Mabinogion," translated by Lady Charlotte Guest. That work, also, contains another ancient tale, which agrees with the Romance of Tristan in some important particulars. Morold, for example, under the name of Martolwch, appears again as the Irish Prince demanding tribute of the British, though we learn for the first time its origin. It seems that a noble Cambrian had cut off the ears and tongues of the horses belonging to an Irish Chief, for which insult the British were compelled to furnish annually to Ireland a fixed amount of gold and silver, together with a quantity of horses equal in number to those which had been mutilated. We also meet in the same tale with Brangæne as Branwen, the British spouse of Martolwch. Even she, despite her high station, is made to feel the bitter hate of the Irish towards her countrymen by being forced to perform the offices of a menial, thereby filling a position analogous to that of the waiting-woman in Romance. ‡

* *The Myvyrain, etc.* vol. I. p. 178. A translation of this poem is to be found in Von der Hagen's edition of Gottfried von Strassburg's works, and in the Appendix to Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*.

† DE LA VILLEMARQUE. *Les Romans de la Table Ronde, etc.* Paris, Didier et Cie. 1861, pp. 72—83.

‡ LADY C. GUEST. *Mabinogion, etc.* London, 1838. Vol. III. p. 197.

We now arrive at the period when the legend made its appearance in the Romantic literature of the Middle Ages. Here the modern reader is fairly astonished by the fanciful and incongruous subjects that are presented to him. The stirring life of Chivalry, in its chequered lights and shades of love and hate, appears inextricably interwoven with the wonders drawn from fairyland, archaic myth and saintly legend. Adventures the most improbable follow one another in rapid succession without apparent connection, and exhibit, in many cases, a singular ignorance of the commonest facts in history and geography. For the cause of these peculiar characteristics we must go back to the end of the XI century when the dawn of literature was yet slowly breaking through the preceding gloom, and Christendom, bursting forth into a blaze of enthusiasm, sprang to arms to free the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel. To this mighty movement, so fruitful in important results, Chivalry and Romance, the two fairest creations of the Middle Ages, mainly owe their birth. No other period in European history has ever been so rich in poetical elements. On a sudden, a new and glorious world of Eastern splendour burst on the astonished gaze of the West; for men's imaginations, dazzled by the glowing descriptions that were given, painted the East as a land of faery and enchantment. While religious excitement was roused to the fullest pitch, a wild spirit of adventure, a thirst for gain and glory filled all classes with an uncontrollable longing to take part in the great enterprise. This new and vigorous life, which sprang up everywhere in Europe at that day, made itself particularly noticeable in the sudden blossoming forth of Romantic poetry. The latter owed its distinctive character to a variety of elements. The ardent spirit of Christianity, which then animated Europe, found its natural expression in the Crusades. It was reserved, however, for Romance to immortalize its fundamental principle of love, which culminated in the homage paid to the Virgin Mother of Christ. The ideal of Chivalry was sought to be realised in the conception of the perfect knight, that combination of the warrior and the saint, in which the heroic nature of heathen times became tempered by the hallowing influences of a purer religion. Another important element in Romantic poetry may be traced to the effect of Eastern thought on Europe. The occupation of Spain by the Moors had the result of making other European countries in some degree familiar with the treasures of Arabian literature. Wondrous tales of genii and enchantments, adorned with all the brilliant fancy of the East, found their way across the Pyrenees. From Persia, also,

the tales of Firdusi, breathing a spirit singularly resembling that of Chivalry, entered Europe in the track of the returning Crusaders; while from the Aryans of Hindustan came to their Western brethren, through strange channels, those apologues, which supplied so many materials to European fiction.*

The first Romantic poems appeared in Southern France at the time when the dialect of Provence had driven out the Latin, and attained to the dignity of a national language. It has been justly remarked, that the earliest literary efforts of a people are of a poetical nature; and to this rule those of Southern France formed no exception. M. Francisque Michel has carefully collected the various passages in the *chansos* of the Troubadours, which make mention of Tristan. The earliest occurs in a poem by Rambaud, Count of Orange, who wrote about the middle of the XII century. Of the numerous other Provençal poets, who touch on the same subject, M. Michel gives the names of no less than thirteen.† The South of France does not appear to have produced any metrical version of the legend; it was thus left to the Epic poetry of the North to give new life to Eastern fiction. As the scene changes, we are reminded of the powerful influence exercised on Romance by a new element, introduced by those sea-rovers, whose energy and daring led them to conquer Normandy and England, to found powerful states on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and to extend

* The Sanscrit collection of Fables, known as the *Pancha-Tantra*, was translated into Pehlevi early in the VI century; from thence into Arabic in the VIII century; from Arabic into Modern Persian in the X and into Greek in the XI century. A Hebrew translation of the Arabic text (date unknown) was also made, afterwards rendered into Latin by John of Capua in the latter half of the XIII century, and from thence into most European languages. The *Book of Sendabad*, also originally written in Sanscrit, was translated into Persian, and from thence into Arabic. From Arabic it passed into Syriac, and from the latter arose a Greek version under the title of "Syntipas." A Hebrew version, supposed to have been made from the Arabic, was translated by Dam Jehans, a monk, into Latin at the end of the XII or the beginning of the XIII century by the name "Historia Septem Sapientium Romæ." Of this last various translations appeared in English, French, and other modern languages under the titles of "The Seven Wise Masters," "Dolopathos," "Eurastus," &c. See DESLONGCHAMPS. *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*. Paris, Techner, 1838.

† FRANCISQUE MICHEL. *Tristan, recueil de ce qui reste des poemes relatifs à ses aventures*, etc. Londres, Pickering, 1835. (See Introduction.)

their sway into Asia itself. The gloomy Norse mythology of their fathers, in which the occult forces of nature played so prominent a part, contributed its heroes, its cabbolds and its elves to the world of wonders in which Romance delighted to move. There was thus breathed into mediæval poetry a spirit of peculiar freshness and vigour, which must, in a great measure, have tended to counteract the enervating influence of Asiatic literature.

The court of Normandy, the new home of those Northmen, became the birth-place of the Romantic Epos. There the rise of a national language and literature was effected in much the same way as in the South, though nearly a century later. In the XII century, when the *Langue d'Oil* had superseded the German of the Frankish conquerors, a host of poetical Romances rapidly made their appearance. Romantic fiction may be said to have formed, according to its subjects, three great cycles; the Carlovignian, the Arthurian, and the Classical. To the second, which alone concerns us here, belong the Romances of the Round Table, the Holy Graal, Perceval, Launcelot, and Tristan; all of which come to us from the same old British source. The tale of Tristan, though originally forming a more or less separate and distinct legend, became gradually confounded in mediæval Romance with those of the Round Table. In the latter, Arthur appears to us as a half-mythical, half-historical character. Tradition represents him as the chief of a noble band of knights, adorned with every grace and virtue of Chivalry, amongst whom Tristan shines conspicuous. These Arthurian legends, having been naturalised, as we have seen, in Brittany, were probably afterwards collected and handed down in Latin prose by early chroniclers. In that case the Trouvères would naturally have taken the materials for their poems from those Latin compilations, though they may doubtless also have met with the same tales later at the English court of the Dukes of Normandy.*

The labours of M. Francisque Michel furnish us with the earliest French metrical versions that we possess of the Romance of Tristan. The first of these is a fragment taken by him from a MS. in the

* See ELLIS. *Early English Metrical Romances*: London, Bohn. 1848, p. 31. He is of opinion, that "the Courts of our Norman Sovereigns, rather than those of the Kings of France, produced the birth of romance literature;" and cites as his authorities M. de la Ravallière, the Count de Tressan, and the Abbé de la Rue.

Royal Library at Paris, and which has also been published by Von der Hagen. Its author is unknown, but it seems from internal evidence to have been composed during the reign of Richard I, or of John, or of Henry III. The second is a complete work from a MS. in the Library of Bern; the third and fourth are the fragments of Douce, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his edition of "Sir Tristrem;" the fifth is the "Lai du Cheverefoil" of Marie de France, dating from the commencement of the XIII century; and the last is an extract from "Le Donnez des Amans" in a MS. of Sir Thomas Phillipps. I deem it here unnecessary to make more than passing mention of these poems, but before leaving the French poets I should state that Chrestien de Troyes, the well-known Trouvère, who flourished at the end of the XII century, is supposed by many to have himself written a metrical Romance of Tristan, since lost. Soon after these poems, with the spread of education, numerous prose Romances on the subject made their appearance in France.* Of these, the earliest that we have professes to be translated from the Latin by an English knight named Lucas de Gast, and to have been afterwards added to by one Hélye de Buron.† According to Tressan, the Latin version, from which it was taken, came from the pen of Rusticien de Puise, who probably composed it (1110—1120) for Henry I at that sovereign's brilliant court in Normandy. As these prose Romances of Tristan, which departed greatly from the simplicity of the original legend, are, with one exception to be noticed hereafter, of no importance for us, I need here only add, that from France the tale rapidly spread and found a home in the literature of almost every country in Europe.

The only English metrical Romance on Tristan, that we possess, is the one edited by Sir Walter Scott, from what is known as the Auchinleck MS. It has been attributed by him to the Scottish bard Thomas of Erceuldoune in the XIII century, from whom, as he argues, Gottfried von Strassburg derived the materials for a poem on Tristan, which I shall mention later.‡ The non-existence of any other

* We also have the Romances of Meliadus de Leonnoys and Ysaie le Triste, the father and son of Tristan, according to a corrupt version of the legend.

† F. Michel. *Recueil, etc.* Vol. I. p. xxxi. See, however, the remarks of Sir W. Scott in his introduction to *Sir Tristrem*.

‡ W. Scott. *Poetical Works*. Edinburgh, Constable. 1825. Vol. IV. This last theory has, however, been refuted by Von der Hagen, Baesching, Von Groote, Price and Madden. See F. Michel. *Recueil, etc.* Vol. I. p. xxxiv.

English poem on the subject is the less strange if we consider, that for a long period English poetry was deemed only fit food for the masses, and that the higher classes most probably read the Romances of the Trouvères in the original.* We have evidence, however, that the tale of Tristan and Isolde was well known in the world of letters after the establishment of a national literature in England, in the references made to it by Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, Caxton, Spenser, Skelton, Ben Jonson, and other writers.† The name of “Tristrem” was also long employed to designate one expert in woodcraft, from our hero’s high proficiency in that art according to the old Romancers. The only English prose version of the Romance of Tristan is to be found in Books VIII, IX, X and XII of the “Morte d’Arthur,” compiled from the old French writers by Sir Thomas Malory, and first printed by Caxton in the year 1485. Like the originals, however, whence it was taken, the story is sadly corrupted by admixture with Arthurian legends, and possesses little intrinsic merit. It nevertheless contains the curious story of a magic drinking-horn sent by Morgan le Fay to King Arthur, which had such a virtue, that there might no lady drink of it but if she were true to her lord;—if she were false she should spill all the drink, and if she were true she might drink peaceably. This horn was intercepted by Sir Lamorak and forwarded to King Mark, who thereupon made his Queen and a hundred ladies drink thereof; and there were of all but four ladies that drank clean.‡ This horn is introduced into some of the Romances of Perceval, from which Ariosto probably took the idea of his enchanted cup.§ In one of the old French Fabliaux, entitled “Court Mantel,” or “Le Mantau mal taillé,” the tale is told of a magic cloak, which will only fit the virtuous among the ladies of Arthur’s court.|| A similar test occurs in the “Vrihat-Kathâ” and “Thuthi-Nameh,” where, however, a lotus takes the place of the magic horn.|| In “Amadis de Gaul” the same

* See Scott’s Introduction to *Sir Tristrem*, p. lii.

† See P. Michel. *Recueil, etc.* Vol. I. pp. xxi—xxvii.

‡ *The Byrth, Lyf and Actes of King Arthur, etc.* London, Longmans, 1817.

§ This cup La Fontaine afterwards borrowed from Ariosto’s tale.

¶ LE GRAND D’AUSSY. *Fabliaux ou Contes du XIIe. et du XIIIe. siècle.* Paris, Onfroy. 1779. Vol. I. p. 60.

|| See Deslongchamps. *Fables Indiennes*, p. 107.

virtue lies in a wreath, and in "Perceforest" in a rose: in other tales it is a waxen image, or a vase which changes colour.*

In Italy, as M. Ginguéné informs us, the tale of Tristan became known at a very early period through prose translations of the old French Romances. The only original poem on the subject in Italian appears to be of late date and of no value.† Dante places Tristan, together with two other popular heroes, Launcelot and Paris, in his Hell; and takes occasion to censure severely those Romances which in his opinion tend to encourage adultery.‡ Ariosto, in his "Orlando Furioso," describes a visit paid by Bradamante to Sir Tristan's lodge, where every traveller seeking admittance was forced to win it with his sword;§ a custom followed by Sir Tristrem himself at Sir Brunor's Castle Pluere according to the "Morte d'Arthur." Similar references to the tale of Tristan may be met with in the works of other Italian poets.¶

A translation of the French Romance appeared in Spain at the commencement of the XVI century, and is mentioned in Don Quixote. Cervantes himself, in all probability, owed to the old Celtic legend the hero of that immortal satire on the Romances of Chivalry, for the corrupted form *Tristrem*, which was commonly derived from the Welsh words *trist* ("sad") and *trem* ("a face"), exactly answers to the Knight of the Woeful Countenance.|| Grimm notices an old Spanish fragment of our legend, which contains an incident unknown to any other version. Isolde the Fair is therein represented to have become

* DUNLOP. *History of Fiction, etc.* Edinburgh. 1816. Vol. I. p. 275. He refers, also, to the girdle of Florimel in Spenser, to the Breton *Lai du Corn*, and to the old English Ballad of *The Boy and the Mantle*.

† GINGUENÉ. *Histoire littéraire d'Italie*. Vol. V. p. 14. See F. Michel in his Introduction, p. xvi.

‡ *Inferno*. V. 28, 68.

§ *Orlando Furioso*. XXXII. 83—93.

¶ See F. Michel. *Recueil, etc.* pp. xv, xvi.

|| See Davies, p. 447. The other English form *Tristram* is explained in Romance as follows:—"When he is christened let call him Tristram, that is as much to say as a sorrowful birth." *Morte d'Arthur*, Book VIII. Ferguson, in his work *The Teutonic Name System*, is equally at fault when he suggests that *Tristram* may be derived from the A. S. *thrist*, bold, daring, and *ram*, a raven. Francisque Michel, in his notes, vol. I. p. xii. gives:—"Trist, sad; Tristys and Tristans, sorrow," from a Cornish-English Vocabulary; "Trystan, s. c. (*trust*)

a mother in consequence of partaking of a lily, which grew on Tristan's grave. This lily, as Kurtz suggests, corresponds to the rose and vine of the other Romances. We light here, however, upon a curious class of myths, which we find in most ages and countries. The idea they represent probably originated in the employment by early races of certain trees and plants as phallic symbols. Among the Hindus such a one was the Lotus; another was the Indian flower Kambal, to which the sage Náchiketa owed his birth. The Chinese, also, have a legend concerning the miraculous conception of the Divine Reason by his holy mother Shing-mu, after she had eaten of the flower Lien-wu (Nelumbium). Besides these tales, there is another related by Ovid, according to which Juno, anxious to have offspring, touched a certain flower at the bidding of Flora, and thereupon obtained the fulfilment of her wishes.*

Passing by the Scandinavian nations, which produced no original work on the Tristan Legend,† we at last reach Germany. There, during the XII and XIII centuries, were agencies as potent at work as those which, as we have seen, called forth the literary activity of France. The German nation was roused into the same warlike ardour, the same intellectual life as the rest of civilized Europe at that day; and, in addition, a strong national feeling was everywhere fostered by the consciousness that their sovereign held the proud position of temporal head of Christendom. These circumstances operated most favourably in developing the literature of Germany. Towards the end of the XII century began an era of Epic poetry, which falls into the two great divisions of Popular Epic and Court Epic. The former confined itself to subjects taken from native legendary lore, while the latter celebrated the foreign heroes of Romance, and amongst these Tristan. The first German Romance of Tristan appears to have been a poem

a noisy one, a blusterer. *Trist.* a. (*ty-rhist*) pensive, sorrowful, sad," from Owen's Welsh Dictionary; "*Trist*, *Thirseach*, sad, heavy, melancholy, tired, weary," from an Irish-English Dictionary; "*Trys*, *Trus*, sad, sorrowful, sadly," from Price's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*; "*Trist*, a. sad, tired, etc." from a Gaelic Dictionary. Davies gives *Trystan* in the Triads the meaning of "herald;" others render the word by "tumultuous."

* *Fasti*, v. 229. See also LECKY. *History of Rationalism*: vol. I. p. 233, where an old superstition connected with this subject is given.

† There is both an Icelandic and a Danish prose translation of the legend: the former dates from the XIII century. See also ARNASON. *Icelandic Legends*: London, Longmans, 1866, p. 251.

written by Eilhart von Oberg, a poet in the train of Henry the Lion; but of this we only possess a fragment of no worth.* At the commencement of the XIII century, Master Gottfried von Strassburg wrote his Epic of Tristan and Isolde, which is by far the greatest work on the subject in any language.† There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the immediate source whence he took his materials. He himself mentions that his authority was one "Thomas of Britanie," who had the tale from "Britannic books."‡ He adds, further, that he had long searched for the version of Thomas in both French and Latin works, and that he had at last found it and followed it solely. From the frequent use of French words and phrases in his poem, there appears to be little doubt that his original was one of the old Anglo-Norman Romances.§ Gottfried's Epic is of the highest merit as a literary production. He seizes, with real poetic genius, the dramatic incidents of the story; and paints, with rare insight into human nature, the varied passions of the actors in graceful and vigorous language. The early years of Tristan, his skill in arms and woodcraft, and the tenacity with which he pursues his lawless amour with Isolde under various disguises, are admirably described. The picture of the Queen is no less happily rendered. She never, however, appears conscious of the evil of her position, but, on the contrary, is only anxious to conceal her inconstancy from Mark. To this end she does not scruple even to order her waiting woman, whom she fears will betray her, to be put to death. The only task Gottfried proposes to himself, however, is to portray the course of earthly passion; nor should it be forgotten that his standard of morality was merely that of his time. Gottfried died ere his work was completed, but we have two different continuations by Ulrich von

* Eilhart represents his hero as "unborn," in the same sense as Shakespeare's Macduff, Firdusi's Rustem, and the Russian hero Dobruni Nikititsch (see Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. I. p. 361).

† VON DER HAGEN. *Gottfried von Strassburg Werke*, etc. Breslau, Max u. Komp. 1823. This edition contains also the fragment of Eilhart von Oberg.

‡ The original in Gottfried runs thus:—

"Als Thomas von Britanie giht

"Der aventure meist was,

"Und an Britunschen Bucchen las, etc."

§ This conclusion is perfectly consistent with the reference to "Britanie," which may stand either for Brittany or Britain.

Thurheim and Heinrich von Friberg, neither of whom equalled their master in genius.* An unimportant metrical version of the legend appeared later by one Segehart von Baubenberg, who is supposed to have lived in the latter half of the XIV century. In modern times two poets, A. W. von Schlegel and Karl Immermann, commenced poems on Tristan, which, however, like Gottfried, they were destined never to finish.† Renderings of the great Epic into modern German have also been made by Kurtz and Simrock, ‡ the former of whom composed a sequel based on those of Ulrich and Heinrich. The best known prose work on Tristan is to be met with in the "Book of Love," a collection of old Romances dating from the XVI century; but the original legend is therein so distorted, that the reader has difficulty in recognizing it.§ In Germany the subject has also been treated in a dramatic form. In the year 1553 Hans Sachs, the Nuernberg cobbler, wrote "The Tragedy of the strong love of Sir Tristrant for the fair Queen Isalde," which, however, has little but its quaintness to recommend it.|| True to his character of moral teacher, he concludes his work with a warning to all men not to fall a prey to an unlawful love. The only other drama on Tristan, and one of considerable merit, has appeared recently from the pen of Ludwig Schneggans.¶ It offers a curious instance of the strong hold that the legend has maintained on the German mind down to the present day. The author has evidently followed the version given by Gottfried von Strassburg in preference to any of the old prose Romances, yet the general outline only has been retained. In selecting such a theme, he must have been struck by the grand capabilities it presented, in the hands of the poet, for a treatment in conformity with modern ideas. To this end it became absolutely necessary to leave out much of mediæval detail. Schneggans, for example, has carefully excluded from his work every ingredient belonging to the marvellous, above all the Magic Potion. He has rightly

* The former wrote about 1250, the latter about 1300. Their poems will be found in Von der Hagen's edition of Gottfried's works.

• † IMMERMAN. *Tristan und Isolde*, etc. Duesseldorf, Schaub, 1841.

‡ SIMROCK. *Tristan und Isolde*, von Gottfried von Strassburg. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1855.

§ BUESCHING & VON DER HAGEN. *Buch der Liebe*. Berlin, Hitzig, 1809, vol. I.

¶ HANS SACHS. *Ernstliche Trauerspiele*, etc. Nuernberg, Schrag. 1819, vol. II.

|| L. SCHNEEGANS. *Tristan, Trauerspiel*, etc. Leipzig, Otto Wigand. 1865.

understood, that the development of a drama should proceed naturally from inner causes, and not from fortuitous and external ones. All that was gross and unseemly, the product of the mind of the Middle Ages, has been studiously avoided. In carrying out his views, the dramatist has completely modernised the characters with which he has had to deal. Of the general treatment of the drama it may be said, that the essential—all that remains eternally true of human passion and human trial—has been retained, stripped of the accidental accessories supplied by Myth and Romance. The gold, in short, has been worked, and the dross properly rejected.

Thus far I have endeavoured to sketch the history of the Tristan Legend from its earliest recorded beginnings down to the present time. Although one or two writers on the subject have, as we have seen, attributed it, not without reason, to a source common to many myths of the ancient world, still its first undeniable traces have hitherto only been found in ancient British lore. I trust, however, that I shall be able, in the course of this paper, to supply the links which are here wanting. Taking the Welsh records, as the oldest we possess, for a starting point, we are at once met by the difficulty there is in explaining them. It has been asserted, that the three mighty swine-herds of the Triads signify three remarkable epochs in Druidical history, of which Tristan represents the last; and that his guilty love for the unchaste Essyllt points to an unholy mixture of foreign with native Celtic rites which then took place. The introduction of the new worship is ascribed to the Phœnicians, those “missionaries of the ancient world,” whose sacred symbol of the boar is said to reappear in Tristan’s swine. The advocates of this view also identify the strange rites, for which they contend, with the human sacrifices offered up by that race to Moloch.* Be that as it may, it is a well-known fact that the boar was held sacred to the Sun-god by both Aryan and Semitic nations, and was employed by the Egyptians as a symbol of Typhon. It appears, also, in the Sun-myths of Adonis and Heracles, while in Homer we read of its being sacrificed to Zeus and Helios.† In the German Romance of Tristan, which I have already mentioned, the swine or boar of the old Celtic myth is actually preserved in the heraldic device borne on the hero’s shield.‡ In my

* Kurtz, p. lxii.

† Iliad, XIX. 197.

‡ Simrock. Part I. p. 202.

opinion, however, the Celtic tale would more naturally proceed from an Aryan than a Semitic source; a view which I believe will be borne out by the result of the following inquiry.

I propose to show, that, with the Celts, Tristan and Brangæne had originally each a separate legend. Yet as these latter, being based on mythical conceptions of kindred natural phenomena, are closely intertwined, I shall treat them as forming portions of one and the same myth. For the sake of convenience, I will first examine the personality of the waiting-woman. Her Celtic name of Branwen or Brangwen literally signifies the "white raven;" but in our inquiry we may leave the unimportant epithet *gwen* ("white") out of consideration. The name Bran seems to have designated a mythic personage of considerable importance in Celtic legend. In a Welsh tale, Bran, surnamed the Blessed, is the brother of Branwen. We find him invading Ireland to take vengeance on Martolwch for the insults offered to his sister. Falling mortally wounded in battle, he bids his followers carry his head to England, and bury it on the White Mount in London. He prophesies, that they will be many years on their way feasting and listening to the singing of the birds of Rhiannon, and the head as pleasant company to them as it ever was when on his body. But when they shall open the door which looks towards Aber Henvelen and Cornwall, then they are to haste to London and execute his last wish. After his death, all which he had foretold comes to pass. The followers bide feasting seven years at Harlech, whereunto come three birds, compared to whose singing all the songs they had ever heard were harsh. Then they went to Gwales in Penvro, where they dwelt feasting in a spacious hall overlooking the ocean, forgetful of time, during a period of fourscore years. "And it was as pleasant to them having the head with them as if Bran had been with them himself." At length one Heilyn opens the door, and looks towards Aber Henvelen and Cornwall. Then the remembrance of all their sorrow comes back to them, and they haste to London, where they bury the head on the White Mount.* Concerning this Bran there is another Welsh tale. One day, while hunting in Ireland, he comes to a piece of water, called "the Lake of the Basin," whence issues a man of gigantic stature and hideous mien, bearing in his arms a Basin, and accompanied by a sorceress and a dwarf. These strange beings follow Bran, who shows them hospitality

* *Mabinogion, etc.* Vol. III. p. 197.

and receives the Basin as a recompense. This vessel, which possesses the miraculous property of restoring the dead to life, is given by Bran to his brother-in-law Martolwch. When the former invades Ireland, the rashness of his gift becomes apparent; for, thanks to it, the foe never diminishes in number. Finally, however, when the head of a wicked Irish chieftain is flung therein, the Magic Basin breaks in pieces.* I believe, also, that we find traces of this myth in the tale of "Owenn or the Lady of the Fountain." The hero rides through a forest, where he is met by a gigantic man with only one eye, who directs him to a stately tree. Under the tree is a fountain, and beside the fountain a block of marble, on which stands a silver Basin attached to a chain. Owenn fills the Basin with water, which he pours upon the marble; and immediately there bursts forth a mighty peal of thunder, followed by torrents of rain. After this the sky becomes serene; and upon the tree descend birds, whose singing surpasses the singing of all other birds.† The myth of Mimir in Scandinavian mythology recalls, in a strange manner, that of the Celtic Bran. High above the heavens and overspreading the world, towers, we are told, the mighty ash Yggdrasil, in whose branches sits an eagle with a hawk between its eyes. The tree has three roots, under the second of which is Mimir's well of wisdom and genius. The All-Father himself pledged an eye to obtain a drink of its waters. Mimir is sent as hostage to the Vanir, who cut off his head; but Odin preserves it with such art, that it speaks and tells him many secret things.‡ In these tales we notice certain common features, of which the most prominent one is that of a vessel or fountain possessing miraculous proper-

* *Mabinogion*, etc. Vol. III, p. 81. This same vessel appears also in the legend of Peredur, the Hero of the Bleeding Head; of Peronik with the Golden Basin and Diamond Lance; and of Perceval and the Holy Graal. See *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, etc., pp. 134, 140—146, 321, 306. See also DE LA VILLEMARQUE'. *Barzaz-breiz: Chants populaires de la Bretagne*. Paris, A. Frank, 4th Ed. Vol. I. p. 205. It has a poem on the death of an historical Bran, who is said to have fallen at the battle of Kerloën in the X century. There are points in it, however, which have evidently been borrowed from the myths of Bran and Tristan; for instance the tree with the wondrous singing birds, and the fatal black sail.

† The tale of Owenn, the Yvain of Romance, is given by M. de la Villemarqué in *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 179. He refers to the marvellous forest of Marseilles, and shows that Owenn's magic waters correspond exactly to the Lake of Dulenn in Wales, and to the Fountain of Baranton in the forest of Brécilien in Brittany. Ibid, p. 231.

‡ THORPE. *Northern Mythology*, etc. London, Lumley, 1851. Vol. I. p. 15.

ties.* Besides this, we have the tree, the birds, the mythic one-eyed being, and the human head preserved from decay.

Having thus, as I submit, shown the connection between the myths of Bran and Mimir, there remains only to trace back both to a mythological conception found among all the Aryan races. Kuhn has shown, that, with them, the Celestial Fire and Drink were originally supposed to be generated in precisely the same manner. The primitive method of obtaining fire by the friction of two pieces of wood was, according to him, first suggested to man by observing the same effect produced by the action of parasitical and creeping plants on the trees to which they clung. To this day the Brahmins thus kindle their sacred flame by what is known as the fire-drill, a method identical with that employed by them in churning. The production of the Celestial Fire and Drink, or lightning and rain, came to be not unnaturally attributed to a similar process within the clouds: hence arose two distinct myths as to their origin. In the first of these the sun was a fiery disk or wheel, rekindled daily by the turning in its nave of the churning-stick (*pramantha*), which represented the thunderbolt or lightning.† In the second myth lightning and rain were both conceived as proceeding from a heavenly tree, which Kuhn recognises as the symbol of the cloud-masses. In India it is the Soma-dropping *Açvattha* or *Ilpa*, surrounded by the lake *âra*; in Scandinavia the world-ash *Yggdrasil* distilling honey-dew, from the roots of which flow streams of Mead. The Persian fable departs but slightly from the same primitive idea in making the *Gaokerena* or heavenly *Haoma* grow separate from, though near to, the tree *Yat-bés* in the lake *Vouru-Kasha*.‡ These myths gave rise again to others

* This conception is a very ancient one among the Celts. Besides the Lake of Dulenn and the Fountain of Baranton, there is also the vase described by Taliesin as under the charge of the Patron of Bards. It possesses the property of inspiring poetic genius; conferring wisdom; and laying bare the future, the mysteries of nature, and the riches of human knowledge. See *Romans de la Table Ronde, etc.*, p. 142.

† *Herabkunft des Feuers, etc.*, p. 66. The analogy of the churning process has been still more strikingly preserved in a myth to be found in Hindu Epos, which represents the gods as churning the great Milk-sea with the mountain *Mandara* or *Manthara* for a churning-stick, and thereby producing first Fire, then *Amrita* or the Drink of Immortality.—*Ibid*, p. 247.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 124—13

regarding the origin of the Terrestrial Fire and Drink.* Their celestial equivalents were fabled to have been stolen by a bird, which is sometimes described as wounded in its flight from heaven, and losing either a feather or a claw.† In the Vedas, for example, Agni, under the name of Bhuranyu, steals the Celestial Soma in the form of a golden-winged falcon (*cyena*). In Greece the mythic bird was personified by the Argive hero Phoroneus, who exactly answers to Bhuranyu,‡ and by Zeus as the eagle, which carried off Ganymede to make him the cup-bearer of the gods.§ With the Romans it was the wood-pecker, called Picus Feronicus after the Sabine lightning-goddess Feronia, the feminine equivalent of Phoroneus.¶ In Scandinavian mythology, also, Odin is represented as stealing the heavenly Mead from Suttung in the disguise of an eagle. There still lingers in German and Celtic folk-lore a recollection of the same Aryan cloud-bird in the well-known traditions regarding the cuckoo, stork, swallow, wren and robin. Of the last-named bird there is a Welsh tale, according to which it daily carries a drop of water to the dismal land of spirits and of fire, in order to quench the flame. But in doing so its feathers are scorched; hence it is called Bron-rhuddyn, or “breastburnt.”|| This Bron, however, seems to be merely a corruption of Bran. In my opinion, Bran is the original Celtic bird of rain and lightning, now personified as a male in Bran the

* The Sanscrit *pramantha* is derived from the verb *mathnāmi* (to shake, to rub), identical with the Greek *μαθύνω*; and in their common root *manth* lay the idea of “seizing, robbing,” whence the Sanscrit *pramātha* (theft). In this we trace, as Professor Benfey has pointed out, the origin of the old Greek tale of Prometheus, the fire-stealer. *Herabkunft des Feuers, etc.*, pp. 16, 17.

† From the feather springs the Palāça tree, from the claw a thorn. *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 148.

‡ He appears as the son of the river-god Inachus and the wood-nymph Melia, and to him the people of Argos attributed the introduction of fire on earth. See PRELLER. *Griechische Mythologie*. Berlin, Weidmann, 1861. Vol. II. p. 36. As Kuhn shows, Melia (“the Ash”) is here clearly the mighty cloud-tree, Inachus the waters that surround it, and Phoroneus the bird which bears away the lightning.

§ *Herabkunft des Feuers, etc.*, p. 176.

¶ Kuhn very happily establishes a connection between the Roman woodpecker and the Celestial Fire and Drink, by reference to the legends of Romulus and Remus, and of Picus, first king of Latium. *Ibid.*, pp. 32—35.

|| See *Choice Notes from “Notes and Queries.”* London, 1859.

Blessed, now as a female in Branwen.* In the legend of the former, as in that of Mimir, the head corresponds to the claw or wing, which is severed from the falcon in Hindu mythology. In Scandinavia, however, Odin, as the mythic bird, seems to have usurped the position which must originally have belonged to Mimir. Finally, the legend of Owenn retains a distinct trace of the old Aryan myth in the thunder-storm, which occurs at the Magic Fountain. The marble block, also, plainly stands for the rock, which is a very common mythic symbol for the cloud.† In the eye pledged by Odip we recognize a symbol of the setting sun; and the same idea in all likelihood originally lay in the solitary eye of Owenn's gigantic guide ‡ With regard to Branwen, the part she plays in the Tristan Legend, where she appears as the dispenser of the Magic Potion, clearly points her out as the feminine personification of the same Aryan cloud-bird. The name Bran may, on the one hand, be derived from the Sanscrit Bhuranyu, by the not unusual suppression of the first vowel and of the affix. As the root *bhar* of Bhuranyu shews the *u* to be really an *a*, the older Celtic form of Bran would thus in all probability be *Baran*, a word which we find compounded with *ton* ("hill") in the Breton Baranton, the name of Yvain's Magic Fountain.§ On the other hand, Bran may be nothing more than the Celtic word for "raven," used as a proper name. This would show, that the raven represented the lightning-bird in Celtic, as well as in Greek and Scandinavian mythology.¶

* The name of Bran appears corrupted to Bron in a French metrical Romance by Robert de Borron, and to Ban in a later French prose Romance. The latter form may also be found in the *Morte d'Arthur*. See *Romans de la Table Ronde*, etc. p. 147.

† *Herabkunft des Feuers*, etc. p. 213.

‡ In the Vedas the sun is called the eye of Varuna. (Ibid, p. 53.) Grimm also states that the sun was the eye of Ormuzd with the Persians; of the Demiurge with the Egyptians; of Zeus with the Greeks; and of Wuotan or Odin with the Teutonic races. See *Deutsche Mythologie*. Vol. II. p. 665.

§ Bhuranyu is a compound of *bhuraṇa* (i.e. *bharana*) and *yu*, and signifies literally "desirous of carrying."

¶ For instance the mythic ravens of Apollo and Odin, who both represent Rudra the Vedic storm-god. King Arthur, also, who corresponds to these two deities in Celtic myth, is said to have been changed at his death into a raven (see Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*. Vol. II. p. 637, where he cites *Don Quixote*, I. 49). Owenn himself, according to ancient tradition, was accompanied to battle by the three hundred ravens of Kenverhennu. Grimm refers to the raven of the ark, and Liebrecht finds the same mythic bird among Mahomedan nations. (*Otia Imperialia*, p. 158.)

With regard to Tristan, a very interesting question arises as to whether he is an ancient mythic personage venerated by the Aryan family prior to their migrations into Europe. Of this I believe some evidence may be gathered from the history of Feridûn, the celebrated hero of Persia. His legend, as told by Firdusi in the *Shahnameh*, runs thus :—Feridûn, the son of Abtîn and Firânek, is born in the reign of Zohâk. That King, warned by wise men that the child would overturn his kingdom, seeks after his life. Feridûn's father is killed, but he himself is saved by his mother, who flees with him into India, where he is brought up in secret by a hermit. When sixteen years of age he demands of his mother the history of his birth. On hearing of the persecution by Zohâk, he determines to obtain his revenge. The legend proceeds to narrate his victory over the King, whom he nails, Prometheus-like, to a rock, in obedience to a divine command. The rest of his story has no importance for us.* Professor Roth informs us,† that in the *Yaçna* the hero is called *Thraëtona* (or, according to the two eminent Eastern scholars Professors Westergaard and Max Müller, *Thraëtaona*), ‡ which name was afterwards corrupted into

* It is interesting to compare this tale with an old French Romance in prose, edited by Tressan, under the title *Histoire de Tristan de Léonois*, etc. Paris, Didot, l'an VII. Like many of its kind, it gives a long account of the hero's ancestors, commencing with Bron, the brother of Joseph of Arimathea and custodian of the Holy Grail. Bron's grandson, Apollo by name, is born in Cornwall, where his mother, a Babylonian Princess, has sought an asylum. Thanor, the King of that country, being warned by a sage that the infant is destined to work him ill, exposes it in a wood. Apollo is, however, rescued and brought up in secret by a peasant woman. He afterwards becomes a celebrated knight, known by the title of "the Adventurous," and lives to fulfil the prophecy of the sage by killing the King. It will be seen how nearly this tale resembles that of Feridûn, from which it was probably taken; a view which is strengthened by the fact that Tristan's rival in the same Romance is called Pheredin, a name singularly like that of the Persian hero. Should this conjecture be correct, we have here the curious spectacle of two distinct treatments of the same myth, independently developed in different countries and at periods widely distant from one another, woven finally, without design, into one story.

† *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. II. p. 216.

‡ The MSS. differ in their spelling of the name. Some, like the Bombay edition and the three MSS. in London, read *Thraëtaonô*; others, like the Vendidad Sade, the three *Yaçnas*, and the MS. of Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, read *Thraëtanô*. (See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, vol. II, p. 497).

Fredûna and *Feridûn*. His birth is there described as due to the special favour of Haoma, the Divine Nectar personified. That deity is said to have rewarded the fidelity of four of his worshippers by blessing them with offspring, destined to be the benefactors of the world. Of these the first is named Vivanghvat, whose son was Yima; the second Âthwya, whose son was Thraëtona; the third Thrîta,* whose sons were Urvakshaya and Kereçâçpa; and the fourth Purushaçpa, whose son was Zarathustra. In Yima, Thraëtona and Kereçâçpa we recognise the three great heroes Dshemshîd, Feridûn, and Gershasp; in Zarathustra the Prophet of Iran. Thraëtona is represented as the slayer of the devastating serpent Azhi Dahâka, "created by Ahriman for the destruction of this world," of which the name Zohâk is a corruption. We also learn that Thraëtona or Feridûn is to be met with in Indian mythology, a discovery due to the

* Eugene Burnouf (*Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, vol. V. p. 251) held the Zend *Thrîta* to be an ancient form, in which the adjectival suffix *ta* is immediately joined to the numeral *thrî* to give it the value of an ordinal, as in the case of the Vedic numerals *ekata*, *dvîta* and *trîta* (first, second and third). Neriosengh, the Sanscrit translator of the Zend-Avesta, also looks upon *Thrîta* as expressing number, but Roth points out, that, in the passage where it occurs in the *Yaçna*, the numeral is found in its proper form beside the word *Thrîta*. Roth (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, p. 225) refers to the *Vendidad* as showing the gift of healing possessed by Thrîta. He also calls attention to the fact that the form *Thrîta* of the Zend-Avesta not only far more nearly resembles *Trîta* than *Thraëtona* does, but is actually the same word. He says, "I do not doubt I shall also come upon the trace of this Thrîta in the Vedic texts. The priest, who beats and presses out the Homa with stones, is there called, in many passages, *Thrîta*. Could the designation of the priest, who prepares the potent and curative drink, have been changed in the sister religion, from recollections of a common past, to the name of a hero versed in the healing art? On the other hand, if we would assume that the Zend race had here preserved the original idea, could not the name of the Leech have been transferred to the Homa priest? That in such a case a Leech should bear the name of a water-god is quite probable among a people who held water to possess great healing properties. Many questions remain here, no doubt, still to be answered; e.g. how it comes that in the Zend one and the same Vedic word bears two forms." Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen, in his article on Ancient Iranian Mythology (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. V., and Weber: *Indische Studien*: vol. 3, p. 402), remarks, "I am more inclined to seek the etymology of the Zend *Thrîta* in the root *thra*, to save or preserve, in which case the name would be significative of office."

celebrated Orientalist Eugene Burnouf.* In the Vedas the hero is called *Trita Āptya*. As the Zend *Thraētona*, however, cannot be directly derived from the Vedic *Trita*, Professor Roth suggests an intermediate form *Tretavana*, afterwards *Tritavan*. It appears that another form *Tretana*, still more like the Zend, actually occurs once in the Rig-Veda. † These Indian and Iranian myths resemble each other not only in the names of the actors, but also in their history. *Trita*, for instance, owes his birth to the Divine Soma, and by its aid succeeds in conquering the evil serpent *Ahi*. *Indra* in one hymn is made to say, “It was I who gave *Trita* against the serpent to win the cows;” ‡ and in another hymn *Agastya* exclaims, “I will praise the Drink—the Soma Drink—by means of which *Trita* tore *Vṛitra* (i.e. *Ahi*) in pieces.”§

* See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, vol. V. p. 496. According to Burnouf, the form *Thraētanō*, of which the crude form is *Thraētaṇa*, represents a patronymic in which *three* is a modification of *thri* (three). The other form *Thraētaonō*, of which the crude form is *Thraētaona*, is, he held, more easily explained if *taona* is considered as another form of the Sanscrit *tīna* (a quiver). In such a case *Thraētaona* would be translated as “the hero with the three quivers.” This he considered to be the meaning, in view of the Persian orthography of *Ferīdān*, in which the last vowel presupposes either an *u* or an *o* in the primitive word.

† See Roth (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, p. 219), and his rendering of the passage in which the word occurs (*ibid*: p. 230.) He remarks that one sees in it traces of the later and more amplified myth of *Dirghatama* (*Mahā Bhārata*, I. 153. See Lassen: *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I. 556). See, however, Wilson’s translation (*Rig-Veda*, vol. 2, p. 103) and the note thereto appended, in which he says “I cannot acquiesce in the opinions of those scholars who imagine a connection between *Tretana* and *Ferīdān*; even admitting a forced similarity of name, there is nothing analogous in the legends relating to either.” See also his note (*ibid*. vol. 1, p. 141) where he refers to the story of *Ekata*, *Dvita*, and *Trita*, told in the *Nīṭimanjari*, and adds, that if his interpretation of the above passage be correct, there can be little relation between *Trita* and *Tretana*, and between the latter and *Ferīdān*.

‡ *Rig-Veda*. X, 4, 6, 2.

§ *Ibid*. I, 24, 8, 1, according to Roth’s rendering. Wilson has it, “I glorify *Pitu* the great, the upholder, the strong, by whose invigorating power *Trita* slew the mutilated *Vṛitra*.” In the foot-notes he remarks that *Pitu* (rendered as *Soma* by Roth) is the divinity presiding over food, and adds “*Trita* is here evidently a name of *Indra*; the Scholiast explains it, he whose fame is spread through the three worlds, or, as *Mahidhara* interprets it, *Tristhāua-Indrah*, the three-stationed *Indra*. *Yajur Veda*: XXXIV. 7.”

These myths, as we have seen, contain two distinct and prominent elements belonging to the Tristan legend, viz., the Dragon Combat and the Magic Potion. The myth of the Foundling, though also worthy of remark, appears in the Persian poem as a later addition, for we do not find it in the other two earlier versions of the *Trita* myth. In examining, further, the changes that must have taken place from *Trêtavana*, through the forms *Tritavana*, *Tritan*, to *Trita*, we cannot help being struck by the wonderful resemblance, that is here apparent, to the name of our Celtic hero. If the Vedic commentators are right in their assertion that the word *Trita* is derived from the Sanscrit numeral *trayas*, *tris*, *tri* (three), I venture to submit, that we have good grounds for believing in the identity of *Tritan* and *Tristan*.

The exact position of *Trita* among the Vedic deities is difficult to determine, as his name is merely incidentally mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, and then only about thirty times in all. Professor Roth regards him as a half-forgotten god of more ancient times. He sees in the *Trita* legend the Aryan myth of the Cloud-demon, who steals the heavenly cows or rain-clouds, and drives them before him until the Fire-god's thunderbolt, descending, cleaves the sable veil, which the robber has spread over the sky, and makes earth once more fruitful. With the above learned writer, also, *Trita* assumes the double character of a Wind-god and Water-god.* He is apparently strengthened in his belief by the fact of *Āptya*, the hero's patronimic, signifying "the Water-born" or "the Water-ruler." This, he rightly holds, refers not to the ocean or rivers, but to the waters of heaven, the region of rain and mist. We must not forget, however, that the deeds of *Trita* are also ascribed in the Vedas to *Indra*, who is Sun-god as well as Rain-

* See *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*: vol. II. p. 222. Roth suggests that *Trita* may be identified with *Vayu*, the deity presiding over the wind in the Vedas, and cites the following passages from the Soma hymns in support of this theory:—"The sweet Soma flowed and brought forth *Trita's* name (*i. e.* power), in order that *Vayu* might become *Indra's* companion." He further refers to a hymn of *Gaya*, wherein the flames of *Agni*, the Fire-god, are described as suddenly flaring up, when *Trita* from heaven blows upon him; and to another hymn ascribed to the same person, where *Trita* is mentioned in connection with the word *vāta* (the wind).

god. Trita appears among the gods at the creation of the Sun, in a mystic hymn of *Dirghatama* :

“Yama gave (*i. e.* created) him,
 “Trita harnessed him,
 “Gandharva seized his bridle;
 “Out of the Sun, ye Vasu (*i. e.* Gods)
 “Have made a horse.
 “Thou art Yama, oh Arvan (*i. e.* Sun),
 “Thou art Trita of the mysterious way,
 “Thou art the brother of Soma,
 “Three-fold affinity thou hast, they say, in Heaven.”*

Here Trita is actually described both as the Sun itself and as its ruler harnessing him, as Phœbus-Apollo might have done, to his celestial chariot. These lines also give us an insight into the meaning of the numeral *three*, which, as we have seen, probably lies in the name *Trita*. This idea of a Solar Trinity was further developed in the later Hindu Trimurti, which had its equivalents in all European mythologies. In the prose Edda, Odin is mentioned in conjunction with Hâr (the High) and Jafnhâr (the Equally High), as Thrithi (the Third); and, in Greece Zeus was, in like manner, occasionally called *τρίτος ὥρην*.† Sir William Jones says:—“It is possible that the triple Divinity of the Hindus was originally no more than a personification of the sun, whom they call *Treyitenu* or *Tritnu*, or three-bodied, in his triple capacity of producing forms by his genial heat, preserving them by his light, or destroying them by the concentrated force of his igneous matter.” Trita or Tristan in such case would be a most appropriate appellation of the Sun-god, as exemplifying in a striking manner one of his three attributes of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer.‡ It seems, therefore,

* *Rig-Veda*. I. 22, 7, 2.

† Kuhn (*Herabkunft des Feuers, etc.* p. 158) derives the designation of Zeus as *τρίτος* from the third drink, which was dedicated to him as *ὥρην* by the Greeks at their feasts. He also compares this custom with the three mighty draughts attributed in myth to Indra, Odin, and Thor respectively. But instead of the name of the god being derived from the drink, may not rather the drink have been suggested by the name of the god? See also Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. I., p. 148).

‡ Burnouf informs us (*Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, vol. IV. p. 497), that the word *Thraîtōna* has been supposed to mean “the one with three bodies,” on account of the elements *thraî* (for *thri*) three, and *taono* (for *tanu*) body. He does not, however, accept this derivation, because the crude form of the word

by no means improbable, that the name *Trita* was originally employed to express the third person in an ancient Hindu Triad; and *Tristan* himself may be some day possibly identified with one of the three chief Celtic deities, *Hesus*, *Teutates*, and *Taranis*.

The Aryan idea of a Celestial Ocean lies in the waters of *Âra* and of *Vouru-Kasha*, in which, as we have seen, the Hindus and Persians respectively placed their world-trees. We even find it at home among the Hebrews, for we read of the great *Elohim*, who made the firmament, and divided the waters under the firmament from the waters above the firmament. The ancient Egyptians conceived the sun as a vessel sailing across the heavenly sea or *Æther*; hence the crescent-shaped bark which they launched at the new moon, when the god *Osiris* was said to enter the crescent in order to render the Earth fruitful. Whether this bark has any connection with that of *Tristan*, and with the golden cup, in which the solar hero *Heracles* sailed across the sea, is an interesting question. It is a significant fact, that in India the divine *Cri*, and in *Hellas* the Sun-bride *Aphrodite*, were fabled to have risen from the sea-foam; and that *Poseidon*, conceived as Sun-god as well as Water-god, was made to woo *Demeter*.* Were it not indeed too bold an hypothesis, I would be tempted here to suggest the possibility of that Sea-god's offspring *Τρίτων* being merely a Hellenised form of the older Aryan *Trita*, "the Water-born," in his capacity of celestial Water-god.† There cannot be any doubt but that the Sun-god and Rain-god were originally identical in most mythologies. The fecundation of the Earth

is *Thraëtaona*, and *taona* does not offer the slightest analogy to *tanu* (body). It should be here stated, that the above passage from Sir William Jones was not cited with a view to connect in any way *Thraëtaona* or *Trita* with *Treyitenu* (*Trayi tanu*.)

* In the Vedas we meet with the *Âpas*, nymphs of the waters, who are also called *Nāvyakā*, or those that sail on the sea of Heaven. Sister-forms were the *Apsarases*, types of the Swan-maidens of German folk-lore.

† Since the above was written, Professor Buehler has kindly placed in my hands a most interesting paper, recently read by the learned Professor Benfey before the Royal Society of Sciences, Göttingen, entitled *Τρίτωνια Ἀθήνα Femininum des Zendischen Masculinum Thraëtaona āthvyāna*, in which the connection between *Trita* and *Τρίτων* is specially pointed out. The eminent Celtic scholar Mr. Whitley Stokes, in his edition of *Cormac's Glossary*, states, on the authority of Dr. Siegfried, that, although the names *Trita*, *Thraëtaona*, *Τρίτων* and *Αμφι-πίρη* point to the meaning "sea," it is only Irish which supplies the vocable in *tréath*, gen. *tréthan*. (See Preface, p. xix.)

by light and water from the Sun-god was typified in the Dionysian and Mithraic Mysteries by a sacrament of bread and wine. This may explain in some measure the rose and vine on Tristan's grave, if we take the former to be the emblem of Aphrodite-Ceres and the latter of Dionysos.* With the Hindus the Sun appeared as the Day-spring, whence both light and water derived their being. Their early cosmogonists said, "from the sun comes rain," "the sun pours out water."† In the Vedas the sun is invoked as "the germ of the waters, the displayer of herbs, the cherisher of lakes, replenishing the ponds with rain,"‡ and we meet with numerous other passages that bear out our view. The following examples may suffice:—

"Agni, abiding in the waters. . . Benefactor of the universe in the waters, manifested as it were in the womb of the waters."§

"May those waters which are contiguous to the sun, and those with which the sun is associated, be propitious to our rite."¶

"O Soma, descend with that stream with which thou lightedst up the Sun; do thou descend, and send water for the use of man."||

* The rose and vine, however, have probably taken the place of the hazel and honeysuckle. We find both the latter in the *Lai du Chevrefoil* of Marie de France, which celebrates an incident in the Tristan legend to be met with nowhere else. The hero sends his love a message, carved on a hazel branch, in which he likens himself and her to the hazel and honeysuckle, that, if once united, cannot afterwards be severed without dying. As the poetess obtained her materials from original Welsh and Breton sources, this tale possesses very great importance for us. The hazel is a well-known lightning-tree among the Aryans of Europe, and its union to a creeper like the honeysuckle would illustrate in a remarkable manner Kuhn's theory regarding the origin of the Terrestrial Fire and Drink. The honeysuckle itself, from the sweet juice of its blossoms, would further be a natural emblem of the mythic plant, which yields the Celestial Soma or Mead. Its name of "Goat's-leaf" in both French and German, also, in a measure strengthens this view, if we consider that the goat was specially sacred to the God of Fire and Thunder; and that the modern representative of the latter, the Devil, appeared under the form of that animal at the Witches' Sabbath. Besides, the honeysuckle is still sometimes known in Lower Germany as *Hexenschlinge* or "Witches'-Snare." Ibid, p. 1030, note. See Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. I. p. 168.

† Wuttke, vol. II, pp. 265, 347.

‡ Wilson, *Rig-Veda*, vol. II. p. 144.

§ Ibid, vol. I. pp. 58, 177.

¶ Ibid, p. 57.

|| Stevenson. *Soma-Veda*, p. 188.

We cannot, therefore, help concluding that Tritavana, Tritan, or Trita was only one of the numerous personifications of the Sun in its different phases, represented in the Vedas under names as various as Agni Vaiçvânara, Sûrya, Pûshan, Bhaga, Savitar, Aryaman, Mitra, and Vishnu.

We next come to the heroine, whose original Welsh name of *Essyllt* is said to have the meaning of "Spectacle."* In France it assumed various forms, of which *Ysolt* perhaps most nearly resembles the Welsh; and this in Germany afterwards became *Isolde*. Except in Romance, the figure of the Queen does not stand out in sufficient relief to assist us in discovering her real position in Celtic Myth. All we know of her there is, that she was a Cornish Queen, notorious for her infidelity to her husband, and her attachment to Tristan. But if we consider the mythic character of Tristan and his relation to *Isolde*, we are justified in viewing the latter as originally a personification of the Earth. In such a case she would hold a position corresponding to that of *Cybele-Rhea*, the mighty goddess of Earth, and bride of the slain Sun-god of the Mysteries. Her skill in leech-craft, about which the Welsh records are silent, is probably referable to the myth of the Magic Bason. The other *Isolde*, named "of the White Hand," has already been compared to *Nephthys*, *Persephone* and *Chriemhild*, and represents no doubt the rival goddess of the Underworld, with whom the Sun-god tarried and forgot his first love for a time. This idea, which has ever been a popular one in both ancient and modern days, is also found in the tales of *Odysseus*, *Baldur*, *Tannhæuser*, *Tamlane*, and *Ogier le Danois*.†

In European countries, where rain falls throughout the year, a Dragon combat, such as is contained in the *Tristan Legend*, would more probably symbolize the change from Winter to Spring, than the bursting of the thunder-cloud which heralds the rainy season of the tropics. I should be inclined, therefore, under the circumstances, to view the *Trita* legend among the Celts as a pure Sun-myth.

* I learn through Mr. Whitley Stokes, that Dr. Siegfried identified *Essyllt* with the old Gaulish *Adsalluta*, which occurs in Henzen; Nos. 5864, 5911.

† *Fata Morgana* gives the hero a wreath of forgetfulness, which corresponds to the Magic Potion of other myths. See Grimm: *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 686.

March or *Marc* signifies, curiously enough, in Cymric "a horse,"* and, as such, might not unnaturally be supposed to represent the Vedic courser of the Sun. Tristan, however, not Mark, is the Sun-god. Mark, like Rudra, Arthur and Odin, the Wild Huntsmen, is probably the Storm-god, as the flying cloud naturally suggested to the ancients the idea of a horse scouring the gloomy sky. His swine or boars, like the Vedic *Maruts*, are the raging winds that follow in his train,† whose inactivity during the Summer months would not improbably be figured forth by their being under the custody of the Sun-god Tristan. The antagonism between the aged monarch and his youthful heir would be that between the stormy Winter and the golden Spring-tide. Isolde, retaining the character of Earth-goddess already ascribed to her, gives herself up joyously to the embraces of the youthful Sun-god who woos her. The Magic Draught, brought down by the mythic cloud-bird, becomes the welcome vernal shower, through whose life-giving influence the Earth is rendered fruitful. At length bleak Winter returns, and, like Mark, re-asserts his power over the hapless Queen; while the stricken Sun-god dies, or wanders to other lands and seeks another bride.

* We have the horse as the embodiment of lightning in the *Uccai-gravas* of Indra, with its neigh of thunder; the winged *Pegasos* of Zeus; and the *Sleipnir* of Odin. The same image is conveyed by the *Areion* of Poseidon; the *Centaurs*; the steeds of the *Valkyriur*; *Yggdrasil* (i.e. *Ygg's* or *Odin's* horse); and the elephant *Airāvata* of Indra. See Kuhn; *Herabkunft des Feuers*, etc. pp. 132—124, 251. The expulsion of summer by winter is symbolized in the well-known tradition of the Furious Host. See Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*; vol. II., p. 870, and Liebrecht. *Ostra Imperialia*, p. 173.

† In the Vedas, both Rudra the Storm-god, and the cloud, are called *Varāha* (boar). The *Maruts* themselves bear sometimes the designation of *Varāhu*, which Roth considers identical with *Varāha*. In Sanscrit the boar is known as *Vajradanta* (lightning-tooth) from the whiteness and sharpness of his tusks. The mountain-ash, the well-known lightning-tree of the western Aryans, is still sometimes called in German *Eberesche* (Boar-ash). See Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, etc. p. 202. The Scandinavian god Freyr, from whom came rain and sunshine and to whom men prayed for fruitful seasons, was drawn in his car by a boar with golden bristles (*Gullinbursti*), which turned night into day: hence the sacrifices of a boar (*Sónargæltir*) in his honour. Boars were offered up to the great Earth-goddess Demeter, and traces of a similar custom appear among the Franks. See Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. I. pp. 44, 45, 193, 194.

From these facts I think we may conclude that the Tristan Legend was originally an archaic Aryan myth ; that it was carried westwards into Britain with the wave of Celtic migration ; that it passed at a very early period from thence into Brittany ; and that it owed its preservation there mainly to the fact of that province being the last resting-place of the Celtic language in France.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

With regard to the spelling of the proper names that occur in the legend, I may state, that, for the sake of convenience, I have adopted the forms employed by Gottfried von Strassburg. The following list, however, will suffice to show the total absence of any fixed rule in the matter. ISOLDE is spelt Yseus, Yseutz, Yseut, Ysseulz, Izeutz, Yseul, Ysou, Ysolt, Isault, Essyllt, Yssilt, Ysouc, Yscult, Iset, Ysalde, Yseuda, Yzeult, Iseulte, Isot, Isodda, Ysoude, Ysonde, Ysote, Isond, Isotta, Iseo, Isawde, Isowde, Isod, Isold, Ysiant, and Ysoud. TRISTAN is Tristans, Tristram, Tristrans, Tristant, Tristran, Tritans, Tritan, Tristranz, Tristanz, Tritanz, Tristrant, Trystrem, Trystren, and Trustram. MARK is March, Marc, and Mars. BRANGÈNE is Brengain, Brangian, Branwen, Brangien, Brangweyne, Brangueyn, Brangwyna, Bragwaine, Brangwin, Brangwen, and Brengwain. RUAL is Rohand, and Rhyhawd. MOROLD is Moraunt, Morhoul, Marlot, Morolt, Morhot, Morogh, and Martholwch.

ART. IV.—*A Note on the Age of the Author of the Mitákshará.*

BY GEORG BÜHLER, Ph.D.

Read 8th October 1868.

As in the case of most Sanskrit writers, the age of Vijñānes'vara, the author of the famous Mitákshará, which serves as the principal authority in law over the greatest part of India, is involved in great obscurity. Many of the native Pandits believe his writings to be about two thousand years old. Mr. Colebrooke contended in the preface prefixed to his translation of the portion of the Mitákshará on Inheritance, (Wh. Stokes' Hindu Law Books, p. 178,) that this opinion must be erroneous. He states there that Vijñānes'vara belonged to an order of ascetics, founded by S'ankarácharya in the eighth century after Christ, and that his writings, therefore, could not be older than 1,000 years. He, further, adds, that Vijñānes'vara quotes also a writer whom he calls Dháres'vara, the lord of Dhár, and, that, if this person was the famous king Bhoja, the Mitákshará could not be older than 800 years.

In the Digest of Hindu Law, edited by Mr. R. West and myself, it has been shown (introduction p. v.) that the Dháres'vara, quoted by Vijñānes'vara, is the same as Bhojarája, and that there are other reasons, which make it probable that Vijñānes'vara lived in the eleventh or twelfth century.

This conjecture is confirmed by some verses which are added at the end of an old manuscript of the Mitákshará, dated Sáke 1389, = 1467 A.D., and purchased by me last year for the Government of Bombay. The conclusion of the work, which is identical with that of the Bombay lithographed edition, stands there in the following manner :—

इति श्रीभारद्वाजपद्यनाभहोपाध्यायाम्बजश्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-
श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरभट्टारकस्य कृतावृजुमिताक्षराख्यायां टीकायां धर्मशास्त्रविवृतौ
तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

उत्तमोपपदस्येयं विप्रस्य कृतिरात्मनः ।
 धर्मशास्त्रस्य विवृतिर्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनः ॥ १ ॥
 इति याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिशास्त्रगता विवृतिर्न कस्य विहिता विदुषः ।
 प्रमिताक्षरापि विपुलार्थवती परिषिञ्चति श्रवणयोरमृतम् ॥ २ ॥
 गम्भीराभिः प्रसन्नाभिर्वाग्भिर्नान्ना मिताक्षरा ।
 अनल्पाथार्थभिरल्पाभिर्विवृतिर्विहिता मया ॥ ३ ॥

॥ . ॥ ॥
 नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरं
 नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमाकौपमः ।
 विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किञ्चान्यदस्योपमां
 कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलीतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयं ॥ ४ ॥
 स्रष्टा वाचां मधुलवमुचां विद्वदाश्चर्यसीम्नां
 दातार्थानामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थतायाः ।
 ध्याता मूर्तेर्मुर्विजयिनो जीवतादार्कचन्द्रं
 जेतारीणां तनुसहभुवां तत्र विज्ञाननाथ ॥ ५ ॥
 आ सेतोः कीर्तिराशे रघुकुलतिलकस्यापि शैलाधिराजा-
 दा च प्रत्यक्पयोधेश्वटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गभङ्गान्तरङ्गात् ।
 आ च प्राचः समुद्रान्नतृपतिशिरोरत्नभाभासुराङ्घ्रिः
 पायादाचन्द्रतारं जगदिदमखिलं विक्रमादित्यदेवः ॥ ६ ॥
 विज्ञाननाथरचिता विवृतार्था मिताक्षरा ।
 सेमे द्वादशसाहस्री संख्याता ग्रन्थसंख्यया ॥ ७ ॥

२. प्र om. Bombay lith. ed. विविहिता विदुषि. Ms.

४. स्तुत Ms.—श्रेविक्रमाको० Ms.—किवान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं Bombay lith. ed.—उपमाकल्पस्था Ms.—A Ms., kindly lent to me by Dr. Bháú Dájí, reads this line thus: विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितैर्न भजते कोवा मनीषी तुलामाकल्पं.—

५. श्रेष्ठा Ms. आचार्यसीम्नां Bombay lith. ed.—अतिशययुजामर्थिनामर्थितायाः Bombay lith. ed.—तवसहभु० Ms.—तज्ञविज्ञाननाथः Bombay lith. ed.

६. कीर्तिरस्ताद्यदुकुलतिलकस्याधि० Ms.—०राजाद्यावत्प्रत्य० Bombay lith. ed.
 —०तुङ्गरिगंतरंगान् Bombay lith. ed.—प्राचीसमुद्रादमृतमहि० Bombay lith. ed.
 —आचंतपं Ms.

७. द्वादशसंख्यातो गणना. Ms.

स्वास्ति श्रीशके १३८९ सर्वधारिनामसंवत्सर आश्विने सुदि* १० गुरुवासेर
तदिने निकृतरामकवीश्वरशारङ्गधरकविपुस्तकं समाप्तम् ॥ श्रीनृसिंहार्पणमस्तु

शदि.

TRANSLATION.

Here ends the third chapter in the Commentary on the Institutes (of Yājñavalkya), which is called Rijumitāksharā, and which is composed by the illustrious Saṁnyāsī, the lord Vijñānes'vara, the son of the Upādhyāya Bhāradvāja Padmanābhahabhaṭṭa.

Anuśṭup.

1. This Commentary on the Institutes (of Yājñavalkya) has been composed by the most excellent Brahman, the Yogī Vijñānes'vara.

Pramitāksharā.

2. For which learned man is this comment on the sage Yājñavalkya's Institutes not particularly beneficial? Though the number of its words has been carefully measured, it contains a great quantity of matter and pours nectar into the ears (of the hearers).

Anuśṭup.

3. I have composed this Commentary, called Mitāksharā, in words, which, though few, are full of meaning, which are eloquent and of pleasant import.

S'ārdūlavikrīḍita.

4. There has not been, nor is nor will be on earth a city, comparable to Kalyāṇapura; no king has been seen or heard of, who is comparable to the illustrious Vikramārka; nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñānes'vara. May these three, who resemble (three) Kalpa creepers, be endowed with stability.

Mandākrāntā.

5. Mayest thou live there, Vijñānes'vara, as long as sun and moon endure, thou, who art the creator of words that distil honey, and form the limit of the wonder of the learned, who art the giver of great wealth, since that is the object of the multitude of the needy, who meditate on the form of the conqueror of Mura (Kṛishṇa), who art the conqueror of the foes, that reside in the body (the senses).

Sragdharā.

6. Up to the bridge of the famous (Rāma), the best of the scions of Raghu's race, up to the lord of mountains, up to the western⁴ ocean, whose waves are raised by shoals of nimble fishes, and up to the eastern ocean, may the lord Vikramāditya protect this world, as long as moon and stars endure.

Anuśṭup.

7. This intelligible Mitāksharā, which was composed by Vijñānes'vara, contains twelve thousand granthas (i.e. $12,000 \times 16$ syllables).

Hail! In the Śāka year 1389, in the Saṁvatsara, called Sarvadhārī, on the tenth day of the bright half of the month A'svina, on a Thursday, on that day the book of Nikṛitarāmākavīśvara Sarangdharakavi, was completed. May it be a gift to Nṛisēṁha.

According to these S'lokas, especially 4—6, Vijñānes'vara lived in Kalyāṇapura under a king Vikramāditya. Now the only Kalyāṇapura, which, as far as we know, was governed by kings of the name of Vikramāditya, is Kalyāṇī in the Dekhan. This town was, for many centuries, the seat of a Chālukya dynasty, which produced no less than three Vikramādityas, who reigned at the end of the sixth, at the beginning of the eleventh, and at the end of the eleventh centuries respectively.

It is impossible that the first Vikramāditya can be meant in our verses, as Vijñānes'vara is certainly later than Kumārila and S'ankarācārya (7th and 8th centuries A.D.). Nor is it probable, that the second king, called by W. Elliot (*Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV., p. 4) Vikramāditya I., who bears also the title Vibhuvikrama, is intended; for, as this prince reigned at the beginning of the eleventh century, from Śāka 930—940, according to Elliot's conjecture, it is not likely that Vijñānes'vara, if he had lived under him, would quote the writings of Bhoja of Dhār, who flourished about the same time. I am, therefore, inclined to believe, that the Vikramāditya of our verses is Kalivikrama or Permadiraya, who reigned from Śāka 998—1049. Hence Vijñānes'vara may be safely placed in the latter half of the eleventh century after Christ. The remaining facts regarding Vijñānes'vara, which may be gathered from the above lines, are not less interesting.

Firstly, in verse 5 it is stated, that Vijñānes'vara was a worshipper of Kṛishṇa, and this statement agrees with the introductory verse, prefixed to the old manuscript, as well other copies of the Mitāksharā, which

contains an invocation of Vishṇu. We are thereby enabled to correct Mr. Colebrooke's opinion that Vijñānes'vara was a follower of S'ankarāchārya, since the latter devoted himself to the exclusive worship of S'iva.

Secondly, the connexion of Vijñānes'vara with the Chālukyas may furnish an answer to the question, how it happened that his work acquired so great an authority over all India.

Most of the more modern compilations on law, or commentaries on law books, have been written by Pandits who lived at the courts or under the protection of kings, for the use of their masters. Thus the *Vīramitrodaya* was written for Vīrasimha, the *Vyavahāramayākha* for Bhagavantadeva of Bhāreha, the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* for and in the name of Pratāparudra, &c. It is, therefore, in the case of Vijñānes'vara, not improbable, that he lived under the protection of and wrote for Vikramāditya. If this be so, then the circumstance that Kalivikrama was the most powerful of all the Chālukya princes of Kalyāṇi, and that his empire embraced the greater part of Southern and Western India, would go far to explain, why the *Mitāksharā* came into so general use and so high repute.

In conclusion, I must add that it would seem, that Mr. Colebrooke, also, saw a copy in which the verses given above were preserved. He states (*l. c.*) that a manuscript had been shown to him, in which Vijñānes'vara was made a contemporary of Vikramāditya. He mistook this Vikramāditya for the old Vikrama, and, under this supposition, declared the statement to be incredible.

Our verses, I believe, do not belong to Vijñānes'vara himself, but have been added by some Shastri or copyist.

ART. V.—*The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kálakáchárya.* By BHĀ'U DA'JI, Vice-President.

Read 10th October 1867.

A SANSKRIT treatise of 10 pages entitled *Kálakachárya Kathá*, without date, and without the author's name, contains the following story :—

In the town of Dharāvása there was a king of the name of Vajra Sinha. His queen's name was Sura Sundari. They had a son named Kálaka Súri (in some MSS. the name is spelt Kálíka Súri) and a daughter Saraswatí.

Kálaka was initiated into the Jain doctrines by Guna Sundara Súri, and Saraswatí was initiated by Kálaka. They went to Avanti or Ujjayiní in Malwa. Saraswatí whilst walking with other Sádhis, or nuns, outside the city, was seen by Gardabhilla, Rájá of Ujjayiní, who became enamoured of her beauty. He caused her to be carried by force into his Antahpura or zenana. Kálakáchárya proceeded to the king, and entreated for the release of his sister, who had vowed perpetual chastity. He appealed to his duty as king to afford protection against violence and injustice, and had recourse to other arguments, but the king was inexorable and made no reply. Kálakáchárya then complained to the Sangha or congregation, which also interfered and tried in many ways to persuade the king to release the nun. The king paid no heed to the Sangha also. At last Kálakáchárya, in despair, determined on revenge, and to do his utmost to deprive the king and his sons of the throne and all its privileges. He feigned madness, rubbed mud on his body, and commenced wandering through Ujjayiní. The old ministers of the king entreated him thereon to release the nun, but without success. Kálaka Súri, on this, proceeded to the west bank of the Indus. The kings of the country were called Sáhi. He resided at the house of one of the greatest Sáhí. By his skill in astrology he obtained great influence over the Sáhi. One day finding the Sáhi dejected, Kálakáchárya inquired into the cause. The

Sáhi replied, "Our King, who is called Sáhina-Sáhi, has written to me to send off my head at once, and a similar order has been sent to 95 other rajas or chiefs." Kálakáchárya advised that they should all join their forces and invade Hindúkadesá (India). They gladly adopted the idea, crossed the Sindhu (Indus) and proceeded to Suráshtira, where they halted on account of the rainy season. All the chiefs, hands folded, served Kálakáchárya as their Guru (preceptor.) After the rains, the Guru recommended them to march on Avanti-desá (Malwa), and after defeating Raja Gardabhilla, to divide his kingdom amongst themselves. They pleaded that they had no more of the sinews of war. Kálakáchárya, by a mysterious or magic rite furnished them with gold bricks. The Rajas then beating the Nobata (drum) reached Láta (Broach). They took the Rajas of Láta, named Balamitra and Bhánumitra with them, and appeared on the confines of Avanti-desá (Malwa). The Raja of Avanti proceeded to the threatened spot. The two armies fought with Kunta (spears?) and bows. Finding his army defeated, he retreated secretly to Visálá-purí (Ujjayiní). The enemy's force thereon laid siege to the city. One day, no fight taking place, the Sáhíbhata (Sahi warriors) inquired of Kálakáchárya the reason of the cessation of hostilities. Kálakáchárya replied, this day is the 8th of the moon, and the king of Avanti is trying to attain Gardabhí Vidyá (Gardabhí science). On searching they found the Gardabh, (she-ass) entering a house in the bazaar, which fact was communicated to the Guru. At each braying, 108 archers were killed. On this the Guru, who was light and quick of hand, himself approached the ass with bow and arrows, and told the chiefs that when the she-ass opened her mouth, to choke it with their instruments of war. They did accordingly, when the she-ass, having covered Kálakáchárya's head with her solid and liquid product, disappeared. The disappearance of the animal deprived the king Gardabhilla of all energy; and the Sáhi Rajas, having secured his person, carried him to the feet of Kálakáchárya, when Gardabhilla stood with his looks cast down on the earth. Kálakáchárya reproached him for his evil conduct, and said that he had that day met with the fruit of the tree of the sin of destroying the vows of a religious lady. Leave your evil ways, and embrace virtue yet—declared Kálakáchárya. The king was not pleased with the Muníndra's charge, and having been untied was set at liberty. Saraswatí re-entered on her pure (charitra) course. The Sáhi at whose house Kálakáchárya had put up became the President of the chiefs, and was put in possession of (the city),

and the others appropriated to themselves different portions of the country. This is the "S'aka Vansa" (Scythian race or dynasty). Kálakáchárya having undergone the rite of confession, delighted the Sangha.

Balamitra and Bhánumitra of Broach were a sister's sons of Kálakáchárya, and at their invitation went there to perform the rites of the "four months" (rainy season). The king, listening to the beautiful discourses of Kálakáchárya on religion, used to exclaim with delight that the religion of the Jinanáyaka was the best. This caused pain to the Raja's family priest, a Brahman, whose hatred rose to the highest pitch when silenced by the Guru in disputation regarding "life and lifeless objects." He now cunningly began himself to praise the Guru, and changed the mind of the king. The Guru saw all this, and retired to Prithwi Pratisthána (Paithan) in Maráthá des'a, where ruled the mighty and the virtuous (Arhat) Sātayána Rájá. One day the king asked in the assembly when the Paryushaná ceremony should be performed. Kálakáchárya said the day will fall on Bhádrapada Shukla Pauchamí (5th of the bright half of the month Bhádrapada). The Raja said, on that day is held the festival of Mahendrapujá, which he had to celebrate in accordance with custom. How is it possible to bathe and worship on that day? Therefore the ceremony of the worship of Jinanátha (Prabhávani) paushadhapálana should be performed on the following or 6th day.

Kálakáchárya said this cannot be. The king then replied let the 4th day be appointed. To this proposal of the king the Guru, remembering the prophecy of Jinavíra to that effect, agreed. For the sake of Jinavíra's prophecy, this day ought to be accepted. Finding the sáris or priests becoming corrupt, Kálakáchárya left for Swarna Mahípura (?), and stopped alone with Ságara Chandra Súri, without allowing any one to know it. Next is a story of Kálakáchárya's having preached to S'akra or Iudra, who came in the form of an old Brahman, discoursing on anunigoda (minute organisms), and following a life of piety, went to Swarga (heaven).

In the Bharabhes'wara Vritti by S'ubhasilagani, the story of Kálakáchárya is similarly related. Kálakáchárya's father is called a native of Dharáváspura in Magadha des'a (Behar). Kálakáchárya was initiated by 'Gunadhara Súri.' Kálakáchárya and his sister are both said to have been initiated by this Guru. The name of the S'aka king is "Sádhan Sinvha." A cup (Kattcholaka) and dagger (Kshuri) from the king was

received by the S'aka chief whilst sitting in an assembly. The cup he placed on his head out of respect, and then became dejected. Kálakáchárya asked the reason of the arrival of the cup. The Chief replied that we 96 chiefs have a chief king named "Sádhan Sinvha," who is powerful. When he finds we have a son fit to rule he sends the cup and dagger, when we are expected to cut off our head and transmit it to the great king. Kálakáchárya said, only a fool would cut off his head in this way. What is to be done? said the S'aka chief. Kalakáchárya then persuaded the chief and his associates to march with him on the city of Ujjayiní, where there are 96 districts.

The halting place in Suráshtra is here said to have been by the side of Dunka Parvata (Dunka Hill or Dhonka). Having been provided with gold, they passed through the centre of Gujarat, to the borders of Ujjayiní des'a. Nothing is said about Balamitra or Bhánumitra of Broach.

Ujjayiní is surrounded—the account of the Gardabhí Vidyá is slightly different—, Gardabhilla intended to mount on the ramparts, where he would call aloud, and whoever hears his voice would be killed. Kálakáchárya provided himself with 108 archers, who were skilled in hitting a foe by striking in the direction of the sound. They were to let go their arrows as soon as Kálakáchárya did his. Thus the Gardabhí Vidyá's mouth would be filled with arrows. This would fill her with rage; she would then kick the king, and, otherwise insulting him, abandon him to his fate. All this was accomplished. Kálakáchárya distributed the kingdom amongst the S'aka chiefs, Ujjayiní itself having been allotted to the one with whom he resided, or says the author, "to his sister's son;" according to some tradition, I suppose. The last part is briefly related. Kálakáchárya took the atonement and entered the priesthood, and Saraswatí became a nun and attained Swarga.

In a third manuscript in Gujarati the S'aka chief to the Westⁿ of the Indus is called S'áki Sah. The story of the cup and dagger is given.

In a Marwadi manuscript of 121 pages, without date, but about 300 years old, Gardabhilla is stated to have had 84 Sámantas or chiefs under him. Balamitra and Bhánumitra were the sons of a sister of Kálakáchárya called Bhánu Sim. The author quotes a Gáthá stating that the first Kálaka Súri was also known as Syámárjuna, and that he flourished 335 years after Mahávíra, and that the second Kálaka Súri released Saraswatí 453 years after Víra. Vikrama flourished 470 years

after Vira, and the S'áki Rájya lasted 17 years, when Vikramáditya, having destroyed the S'ákas, regained his kingdom. One hundred and thirty-five years afterwards a S'áka king again flourished.

Another Marwadi manuscript by Jinaranga Sári, states that Balamitra was king, and Bhánumitra his minister. The family priest is called Gangádhara. Kálakáchárya is said to have introduced himself to the notice of the "Mogul" chiefs by taking up a ball which had fallen into a well, by joining arrows.

A treatise called Paryushaná S'ataka, with commentary, without date or author's name, contains about 1500 verses. The text is Mágadhi, and the commentary Sanskrit. It considers the proper day on which the Paryushaná ceremony should be performed. The story of Kálakáchárya is related in the course of discussion, after collating many manuscripts in which it was previously written. The king of Dharávása was Vajra Sinha, his wife was Sura Sundari; their son Kálaka Kumára. He got himself initiated after being disgusted with the world. Gradually he attained high orders. For releasing his sister, Saraswatí, and for removing the disfavour into which religious knowledge had fallen, he uprooted Gardabhilla. Another sister's sons were Balamitra and Bhánumitra. The latter was initiated by him into a religious order and on that account Balamitra was displeased. Kálakáchárya thereon went to Pratisthána pura (Paithan). There, at the request of S'átaváhana, the Paryushaná parva, which was hitherto observed on the 5th, was changed to the 4th of the moon. Indra is here introduced. Gardabhilla's destruction took place 453 years after Vira.

In the Prabháwka Charitra, says the author, there is a story of S'ri Pádalípta Súri. In it, it is stated that 480 years after Virás Nirvána, Aryá Khaputáchárya flourished. Also that Srímana S'átaváhana, repaired the Tírtha or sacred place (which cannot be made out without having the Prabháwka Charitra), and there Pádalípta Súri established the standard (dhwaja). At the time king Balamitra, Kálakáchárya's relative, was present—also Khaputáchárya. According to other works Paryushaná Kalpa Chúrni Nis'íthachúrni and Tháná tritta (thananga Vritti?) Kálaka Sári, who changed the ceremony to the 4th of the moon, was the relative of Balamitra and Bhánumitra, and in modern works, as the S'raddha Vidhi Vinischaya, &c., the same is stated. Hence it appears that Khaputáchárya, Gardabhilla, Balamitra, Bhánumitra, existed before and contemporaneously with Vikramáditya.

Every commentary on the Kalpasútra contains a brief story of Kálakáchárya.

In the Prabundha Chintámani of Merutungáchárya, and in the Chaturvins'ati Prabandha of Rája S'ekhara, another celebrity better known in Buddhist works as Nágárjuna, is stated to have been a contemporary of a S'átaváhana and of Pádaliptáchárya.

I trust soon to be able to discuss the age of the various Nágárjunas, in a separate paper. These stories of Kálakáchárya have not the weight of a contemporary document. Still they are old, and the disputes regarding the day of observing the Paryushaná parva have prevailed for centuries, and kept up the tradition of Kálakáchárya having changed the day from the 5th to the 4th. A third Kálakáchárya is stated to have flourished A.C. 993. And as all these three divide the honour of having changed the ceremonial day, the present stories are clearly written after the eleventh or twelfth century.

The curious custom of a chief of the S'ákas or S'áki, being required to cut off his own head on the presentation of a cup and dagger by the great king, appears strange, but it is not stranger than, and has considerable affinity to, the custom, of Hara Kiru, now prevalent amongst the Japanese. Herodotus, in his graphic description of the customs of the Scythians, does not describe this.

Amongst these wild tribes, depending on physical strength for defence against frequent attacks of enemies, there does not appear to have existed that respect and deference for old age which obtains amongst civilized and peaceful nations. According to Onesicritus, the old men were abandoned whilst yet living, to the dogs, who were thence called "buriers of the dead." This statement has, however, been doubted, and is supposed to have originated from the custom even now prevalent among Parsees of submitting a corpse to the gaze of a dog before carrying it to the Tower of Silence. It was also a common custom to allow the dead bodies to be devoured by dogs and vultures.

The S'ákas of the Mahábhárata, Puránas, and other works, and of the rock-inscriptions and copperplate grants are correctly admitted to represent the people called Scythians by Western classic writers. The population which the Greeks called Scythæ called themselves Scoloti, according to Herodotus. The Persian equivalent to Sythæ was Sakæ. There is no doubt the word is preserved in the Kathi of Kattiawar. The most lucid account of the geographical boundaries

of Seythia, and of the various tribes or petty nations included under that name is that given by Professor H. H. Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua*. We learn from the ancient historians of Greece that the Scythians east of the Caspian were called Sakas and Massagete, the last probably being the Maha Jats or the great Jats, of whom we have now a large number in the Punjab. According to Strabo the nomads who conquered Bactria from the Greeks were the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and S'akarauli.

Mat-wanlin, on the authority of Chinese historians, states that the Yue-che or Scythians invaded India about B.C. 26, and that they remained in India till A.D. 222. These appear to have been the Abhíras.

In the time of Ptolemy, the Geographer, a large part of North-Western India was occupied by the Indo-Scythians. In the prophetic chapters of the Puranas, 16 S'aka Kings are mentioned along with 8 Yavana Kings, 7 Abhíras, 10 Gardabhillas, &c. In the Nassick cave inscriptions Ushavadáta, the son-in-law of Nahapána, is called a S'aka, whilst a S'aka Sena appears in the Kánheri caves.

Gautamiputra, the son of Padumávi and King of Dakshinápátha, or the Deccan, boasts of having destroyed S'akas, Yavanas, and Palhavas. This King flourished in my opinion at the end of the 2nd century of the Christian era.

The most prevalent era in India is dated from a S'aka King A.C. 78. This king I believe was Kshaharáta Nahapána. The oldest Sanskrit works and the copperplate grants are dated in this era. The Vikrama Samvat does not, strange to say, appear to have been adopted till after the 10th century. It is used by the Jains chiefly, and was first adopted by the kings of Anahilla-pura or Patan, in Gojara. The so-called Valabhí Samvat was not the era adopted by the Valabhí kings, whose grants are all dated in the S'aka era. The Chálukya copperplate grants and their inscriptions on stone are also dated in the S'aka era. An old copperplate grant of the Chálukyas, dated 394, is published by Professor Dowson, in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. I. p. 270. The era is undoubtedly the S'aka Kála. Here, besides the mistake as to the era, the learned Professor is led into a number of doubts and errors in regard to the correct genealogy of the Chálukyas from confounding the early Pulakes'i, with his grandson Pulakes'i the second, being respectively the father and the son of Kirtivarmá. I

believe that the Wardač inscription is also dated in Śaka Nripa Kāla, and that the king Hasphani-Matega there mentioned is identical with Wiswasphatika of Wilson's Vishnu Purāna (p. 479). In a copy of the Vāyu Purāna in my possession the name is spelt Wiswasphāni, which is a Sanskritised modification of Hasphani. In a Jain work, the abstract of the contents of which will be read at the next meeting, the following kings are mentioned as the successors of Vikrama, who is said to have reigned 60 years :—

1	Vikrama Charitra or Dharmāditya	..	40	years.
2	Bhāilla	11	„
3	Nāilla	14	„
4	Nāhada	10	„

These are all new names.

ART. VI.—*Merutunga's Therávalí; or Genealogical and Succession Tables, by Merutunga, a Jain Pundit.* By **БНА'У ДА'П'**, Vice President.

Read 12th December 1867.

MERUTUNGA is the name of a Jain Scholar who flourished in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. I possess copies of four of his works, viz., 1, *Prabandha Chintámani*, of which Mr. Forbes has made good use in the *Rás-Malá*, or *Annals of Gujarat*; 2, *Mahápurushacharitra*, containing an account of several very ancient Jain Sádhus; 3, *Shaddars'ana Vichára*, containing a brief account of six schools of Philosophy, namely, Jain, Bauddha, Sánkhyá, Jaiminíya, or Mímánsa, Aulúkyá or Kanáda, and Gautamíya; 4, a *Therávalí*, or genealogical and succession tables, being comments on some of the old Gáthás containing chronological and historical data. These works are all composed in Sanskrit, but contain quotations in the Gáthá dialect. I have ten complete *Patávalis* by different Jain Súrís or Pundits, and portions of others, but none of them comes up to that of Merutunga in historical interest. Merutunga composed the *Prabandha Chintámani*, as stated at the end of the work, in Samvat 1367, i. e. A.C. 1423, at Vardhamánapura, or Vadváná, in Kattiawar.

* The following is the substance of the *Patávali* :—

In the month of **Kártika**, 15th of the dark half of the Moon, **S'rí Virás Nirvána**, or death took place. This is stated in the work **S'rí Kalpa**. An old Gáthá is quoted, stating that on the night when the Arhan Tírthankara Mahávíra died, king Chanda Pradyota of Avantí (*Malwa*) also died. His son Pálaka was inaugurated king of Avantí. Merutunga generally quotes Gáthás or verses in modified Mágadhi as authority for his dates and statements, and explains them in Sanskrit prose.

King Pálaka's reign lasted 60 years; at that time, in Pátaliputra, Kúnika's son Udáyí, who was childless, was, whilst king, assassinated.*

* Kaunika or Kúnika, was the son of S'renika, who is styled Bhambhására, and is the same as the Bimbisaro, king of Rájagriha, of the Buddhists.

Thereon Nanda, who was born of a barber prostitute (Ganiká), was inaugurated king after selection by the chief elephant, with five bright ornaments. It is related in the *Paris'ishta Parva* (of *Hemachandra*), "from the *Nirvána* of *Vardhamána-Swámi* (*i.e.* *Víra*), sixty years having passed; this Nanda became king, and nine Nandas followed one another in succession at *Pátalipura*, and their reign lasted 155 years," being after *Víra* 215; and it is stated in the *Paris'ishta Parva*, that 155 years after the *Nirvána* of *Mahá Víra*, *Chandragupta* became king. This is, continues *Merutunga*, a subject for consideration; because, according to the latter statement, there is a deficiency of 60 years, and it is opposed also to other books.

The reign of the *Mauryas* followed for 108 years. *Chandragupta Maurya* and others were established in *Pátaliputra*, by *Chánákya*, after expelling the ninth (Nanda), being after *Víra* 323 years. After the rule of the *Mauryas*, *Pushpamitra* reigned for 30 years.

Afterwards kings *Balamitra* and *Bhánumitra* ruled 60 years. They are different from the kings of the same name at *Ujjayiní*, who are stated in the *Kalpachúrni* (a commentary on the *Kalpasútra*) to have expelled *Kálikáchárya*, the establisher of the 4th day *Parva* (ceremony). Afterwards, for 40 years, was the reign of *Nabhováhana*. He is in some places called king *Naraváhana*. This makes 453 years after *Víra Nirvána*. And in this year *S'ri Kálikáchárya*, the uprooter of *Garddabhilla*, was honoured with the title of *Súri*. After *Nabhováhana* the rule of *Garddabhilla* lasted 152 years, *i. e.*, the rule of the *Garddabhilla* dynasty—a dynasty being named after the king most famous in *ét*. After *Nabhováhana*, *Garddabhilla* ruled at *Ujjayiní* for 13 years, when *S'ri Kálikáchárya*, on account of violence offered to his sister *Saraswatí*, uprooted *Garddabhilla*, and established *S'aka* kings in *Ujjayiní*. They ruled there for 4 years—thus making 17.

Garddabhilla's son *Vikramáditya* regained the kingdom of *Ujjayiní*, and having relieved the debt of the world by means of gold, commenced the *Vikrama Samvat* era. This (era) was established 512 years after *Víra's* era, commencing from *Várshikadána* year* of *Víra*.

* The year of gifts, the one which precedes the establishment of a new era. The king is expected to spend enormous quantities of gold in charity for a whole year. *Víra* is stated to have done it 42 years before his death.

Vikramá's reign extended over	60 years,
His son Vikramacharitra, alias Dharmáditya,	
ruled for	40 „
The next king, Bháilla, reigned for	11 „
„ Náilla „	14 „
„ Náhada „	10 „

135 years;

in whose time the great temple of S'rí Mahávíra, named Yaksha Vasati, was built on the top (horn) of Suvarnagiri, near Jalaurapura, by a merchant of (99 lacs) great wealth. Add 17 to the 135 years after Vikrama, you get 152, as said (in a gáthá). The Vikrama Rája Rája Kála, dynastic year of Vikrama commenced 17 years after Nabhováhana; the Vikrama era, or Rája A'rambha, from the commencement of Vikrama's reign, or the 17th year of Vikrama Rája Kála, according to Merutunga. Therefore $152 - 17 = 135$, is the duration of the Vikrama Kála era. Jina Kála is the duration of the Jina Víra era before the Vikrama Kála (era), being 470 years, the difference between S'rí Mahávíra and Vikrama. How was the era of S'rí Víra and Vikramáditya calculated? Before the commencement of the reign of Vikrama, S'rí Víra's Nirvána took place 470 years; in other words, the reign of Vikrama commenced 470 years after Víra Nirvána.

Pálaka	60	Vikramáditya	60
Nanda	115	Dharmáditya.....	40
Maurya	108	Bháilla	11
Pushpamitra	30	Náilla.....	14
Bala-mitra.....	} 60	Náhada	10
Bhānu-mitra			
Nabhováhana	40		135
Gārdhabhilla	13		470

470 (*sic.*) Grand Total.... 605

The S'aka era now commenced,—as the saying is, six hundred and five years after Víra Nirvána, commenced the S'aka era in Bhárata (India).

Merutunga then proceeds to give the dates of the Pattapratisthá Kála (inauguration to high office) of the various Sthaviras (Theros, or great priests).

From S'ri Vírás Nirvána :—

Sudharma Svámi's accession	20 years.
Jambu Svámi's	44 „

64

In the Paris'ishta Parva it is written, Jambu having lived sixty-four years after Vira Nirvána established in his own place, Prabhava of Kát-yáyana Gotra, and obtained the indestructible place (died) by the extinction of action.

Prabhava	11
Sayyambhava	23
Yas'obhadra	50
Sambhátivijaya	8
Bhadra Báhu	14

170

Thus we have 170 years after Vira Nirvána. In the Paris'ishta Parva it is stated, that from the emancipation of Vira 170 years having passed, Bhadrabáhu went to heaven by Samádhi.

Sthúlabhadra	45
<i>i. e.</i> 215 years from Vírás Nirvána.	
A'rya Mahágiri	30
A'rya Suhasti	46
Guna Sundara	44

335

At this time (Anunigoda Vyákhyátá) Kálikáchárya flourished. The story of Indra having come to listen to Kálikáchárya's discourses on minute organisms is briefly repeated. This Kálikáchárya is the author of the Pradnyápanápanga Súra. In the original there is 140, evidently an error in copying, as in the next verse quoted in proof from the Parva 170 are given. He is the 23rd personage from Vira, including the 11 Ganadharas. In the Siddhánta he is called Syámárya.

Kálikáchárya	41
Skandila Súri	38

414

Merutunga then relates *Vridhdha Sampradáya*, i. e., old traditions. *Sthúla Bhadra* had two disciples, *A'rya Mahágiri* and *A'rya Suhasti*.

A'rya Mahágiri's S'ákhá (branch) is the principal, and it is given in *Sthavirávali* as follows :—

Balissaha S'uri.
 Sáyi (Swáti.)
 Sámajjo (S'yámárya.)
 Sandilo (S'ándilya.)
 Jiyadharo (Jita-dhara.)
 Ajjasamuddo (A'rya-Samudra.)
 Mangú (Mangu.)
 Mandillo (Mandila.)
 Nágahatthi (Nága-hastí.)
 Ñeva i Sinho (Rewati Sinha.)
 Khandalo (Skandila.)
 Himavam (Himavána.)
 Nágajjuno (Nágárjuna.)
 Govindo (Govinda.)
 Bhindinno (Bhúta-dinna.)
 Lohityo (Lauhitya.)
 Dusagani (Dushya-gani.)
 Devadhí (Devardhi.)

This *Devardhi* was the 27th person from *Víra*. He caused the *Siddhántas* to be written, that they may not be lost.

• The second branch given in the *Kalpa Sútra* is as follows :—

Ajja Suhatthi (A'rya Suhasti.)
 Sutthiya (Susthita.)
 Indadinno (Indradinna.)
 Ajadinno (A'ryadinna.)
 Sinho-giri (Sinha-giri.)
 Vaira Sámi (Vajra Swámi.)
 Sopáraga Vaira Seno (Saupáraka Vajra Sena.)

But in these branches *Guna Sundara* does not appear after *A'rya Súhasti*; or *Skandiláchárya* after *Syám A'rya*—but *Merutunga* ventures to put them in, as he saw their names in sacred lists. The same applies to *Revati-mitra*. Thirty-six years after *Skandila* was *Revati-mitra* (after him was), *A'rya Mangu* 20 years, being 470 years from *Víra Nirvána*. After 453 years (from *Víra's Nirvána*) flourished *Kálíka Súri*, the destroyer of *Garddabhilla*. (After him) *A'ryá-dharma*

24 years. Some think Mangu and Dharma are one and the same individual. According to them A'rya Dharma's period is 44 years.

Bhadrugupta	39
S'ri Gupta	15
„ Vajra	36

Being 584 years from Vira Nirvána. Next S'ri A'rya Rakshita, 13 years. Pushpamitra, 20 years; who accurately expounded the Sutrārtha. This makes 617 years from Vira. At this time, the S'aka Samvatsara commenced. (The copy is defective here, and the Gáthá quoted requires comparison.)

It is usual to meet with the following statement :—

Formerly, in the time of Chandragupta, a famine for 12 years having occurred, Utkrishtalabdhī (compositions of supreme knowledge) and a thousand of minor subjects (prakīrnaka) were destroyed (lost). Bahalassa, and Balissaha are indentical persons. In the Sthavirávalī after A'rya, Mangu, A'ryadharma, Bhadrugupta, Vajra Swámi, A'ryarakshita, although produced in a different branch, are introduced, as they were then eminent or chief persons. Revati Sinha Súri is different from Brahmadvípaka Sinha. In the latter period of Vajra Swámi, a famine of 12 years having occurred, the expounding of the Siddhánta was discontinued. Afterwards in the time of plenty, Skandiláchárya, having assembled the Sangha at Mathurá, recommenced the expounding of the Siddhántas. And this is related (in gáthás) commencing with “Jesiémo anuogo.”

In the second branch, Susthita was the fifth of the 12 disciples of A'rya Suhasti. From him came Kotika Gana. And in the Kalpasútra it is stated that A'rya Mahágiri of Elávatya Gotra had 8 disciples, from the Thero utara (1st) to S'adulaka alias Rohagutta (8th). From the last the branch Trairásika was produced, as related in the Kalpasútra.

In the A'vas'yaka Sátra, the time of the different Ninhavas or schisms is given.

The first schism (Jamáli Ninhava) took place on the 14th day of Vira's obtaining Supreme knowledge.

2nd (Tishya Gupta)	after 16 years.
3rd (Avyakta)	„ 214 „
4th (Samuchhedika)	„ 220 „
5th (Ganga)	„ 228 „
6th (Rohagupta Trairásika)	„ 544 „
7th (Gosthá Máhila)	„ 584 „
8th (Digambara sect)	„ 609 „

If S'adulúka Rohagupta be the disciple of A'rya Mahágiri, then how could 544 have elapsed from Vira? Aryá Mahágiri was the disciple of Sthúla-bhadra, who flourished, as explained before, 245 years after Vira's emancipation. The disciple (of A'rya Mahágiri) could not therefore be placed in 544 after Vira.

To remove this doubt, what has been heard by many is proof. In the same way after the 12 years' famine, Vajra Swámí declared to his disciple Vajra Sena—When you get food of the value of a lak there would be plenty. So saying he sent him on his errand. He went to Sopáraga to a merchant named Jinadatta. His wife Is'warí offered food of the value of a lak, without poisoning it.* He declared to them that there would be plenty next day—and stayed with them in comfort. Afterwards he had Indra, Chandra, and Vidyádharma as disciples.

The Chandra Kula (succession) has, like a Ficus tree with a hundred branches, spread with glory to this day, regarding which there is a gáthá :—

“Kodi gano gana me, Vaira Sáhá Sáhá me,
Chanda Kulam Kulam me.”

“Amongst Ganas is Kotí-gana, amongst S'ákhás is Vajra S'ákhá, amongst Kulas is Chandra Kula.”

In the Bhṛigu-Kshetra, A'rya Khaputáchárya Siddha Sena Prabhávaka (flourished).

Also after Vajra Swámi was Vajra Sena	33 years.
Nága-hasti	69 „
Revati-Mitra	59 „
Brahmā dwípaka Simha	79 „

239 (*sic.*)

Afterwards Skandila, Himavatsúri, and Nágárgjuna . . 78 years.

When twenty-two years passed out of these seventy-eight, the destruction of Valabhi (took place). And it is said “Pana Sayarí Vāsasaim tinni Sayáim Aikame una Vikkama Kálá Utao Valahí bhango Samuppanno.”

*The writer seems to suggest that the merchant's wife intended to give poisoned food to kill the famine-stricken people at once, to save them from inevitably prolonged suffering.

Three hundred and seventy-five years having passed after Vikrama Kāla, the destruction of Valabhi took place.

After Vikram, Vajra Swámí flourished 114 years.

After Vajrá Swámí, Skandila flourished 239 years.

Twenty-two years after him was Valabhi bhanga (destruction), making altogether 375 years. In the same way, 510 years after Vikrama, and 980 years after Vira's death, Devardhi Ganí, caused Siddhāntas to be written, and at that time, he has stated in the S'ri Kalpa :—"From the death of Sramaua Bhagawána Mahāvira, 900 years having passed, in the 80th year of the tenth century the work was composed."

Thirteen years after this the paryushaná parva was performed on the fourth day of the Moon (by Kálaka S'uri); and the same is stated in a gáthá (quoted).

In 1055 years (occurred) the death of Haribhadra Sári, as stated in a gáthá (quoted.)

Next Jina-bhadra-kshamá S'ramana flourished 65 years.

„ Pushpamitra 60 „

„ Swáti Sári 75 „

Who established the fortnightly confession on the 14th of the Moon (gáthá quoted).

Pushpamitra is in some books placed after Swáti Sári, but that is opposed to the gáthá (quoted). In the principal treatise (not mentioned, but containing the gáthá) it is stated that he obtained the title of Sári, 1300 years after Vira. But this stands in need of investigation by the well-informed, because it is there stated that after Swáti (Sári) Sambhúti vijaya flourished. Fifty years Mádharma, Sambhúti gupta 60 years, and Bappa Bhatta Sári. But of this the best tradition is proof.

From Vira's emancipation 1639 years and from Vikrama 1169 years, having passed, in (the city?) S'ri Vidhipaksha Mukhyábhidhána, A'rya Rakshita Sári established the Anchala gaccha. Vira's disciple was S'renika, his son Kúnika, his son Udáyi. After him in Pátaliputra the nine Nandas reigned. Chánákya having expelled them, established Chandragupta. His son was Bindusára, his son As'oka S'ri, his son Kunála the blind, his son Samprati-Rája reigned in Ujjayini. His descendant was Garddabhilla. His destroyer was S'aka king. Garddabhilla's son Vikramáditya having expelled the S'aka established himself there. He established the Samvatsara era 470 years after Vira's Moksha

(emancipation). Afterwards, in Samvat 821 Vais'ákha S'uddha 2, Monday, S'ri Vana-Rája, of the Chaudá Vansá (Chaudá or Chowra dynasty) founded S'ri Anahillapura. He reigned 60 years. His son Yogá-Rája, reigned 9 years. Next in Samvat 891, S'ri Ratnáditya reigned 3 years. Next Vairi-Sinha ruled 11 years.

In Samvat 905, his son Kshema-rája, succeeded and reigned 39 years.

In S. 944, Chámunda-Raja, his son, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

In S. 971, his son Thághad, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

S. 998, his son Púada, succeeded and reigned 19 years.

In this way 8 kings of the Chaudá dynasty reigned for 196 years.

S. 1017, S'ri Mála-rája (daughter's son), from the Chálukya race, succeeded and reigned 35 years.

1052, his son Vallabha-rája succeeded and reigned 14 years.

1066, his brother Durlabha succeeded and reigned 12 years.

1078, his brother, Nánagila's son, Bhíma-deva, succeeded and reigned 42 years.

1120, his son S'ri Karna-deva, succeeded and reigned 30 years.

1150, his son Jayasinha-deva, succeeded and reigned 49 years.

1199, on Kártika S'uddha 3, for three complete days interregnum (Páduká-rájya) (reign of sandals).

In the same year, on Marga S'irsha S'uddha 4, S'ri Kumárapála son of Tribhuvana-pála, son of Deva-pála, son of Kshema-rája, son of Bhíma-deva, reigned till—

1229, Pausha, S'uddha 12, i.e. a reign of 30 years, one month and 7 days.

On the same day Ajaya-pála, the son of Mahipála, his brother, succeeded.

1232, Phálguna S'uddha 12, after three years and 2 months, Laghu Mála-rája succeeded.

1234, Chaitra S'uddha 14, he completed two years, one month, and two days. On that day Bhíma-deva succeeded.

End of the Theravali.

Then followed the Gajjanaka rule (of Mahmud of Ghizni) (a Gáthá is quoted). Next in Samvat 1300, S'ri Víra Dhavala's brother S'ri Vísala-deva, succeeded.

1318 Arjuna-deva.

1331 Sáranga-deva.

1335 Laghu Karna.

1360 Mádhava, a Nágara brahmana brought the Yavanas.

S'rí Kumára pála's minister, Báhada, in Samvat 1211, spent two crores, ninety-seven lacs (Rupees 2,97,00,000) in constructing a stone temple.

In Samvat 1371, on account of troubles from the Yavanas (Mahomedans) when the image of Jávadi was lost, a new one was set up by Samaráka.

Remarks.

The names and dates given in the beginning of the Therávali are very important.

Mahávira (the great hero) is the Tást of the Jain Tírthankaras.

The Buddhists call Gautama, Mahávira, and mention Mahákás'yapa as his chief and eminent disciple. The Jains call Kás'yapa Mahávira, and Gautama his chief disciple (Ganadhara). Both Baudddhas and Jains agree in making Mahávira the friend and spiritual teacher of a king of Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha or Behar, whose name was S'renika or Bhambhására according to the Jains, and Bimbisaro according to the Buddhists. My remarks regarding these and subsequent kings I reserve for another paper, in which I propose to review the age of Buddha and the history of India before the Christian era, as the Jain dates differ a good deal from those of the Buddhists and Brahmans.

The particulars of Udáyi's assassination are given by Hemáchárya in the Paris'ishta Parva. A short but very important statement in the Therávali is regarding the origin of the first Nanda. The Buddhist works hitherto published are silent regarding it. The Puráns mention him as of Sudra extraction, but the Jain account of his descent from a barber is similar, though not quite identical, with that given by Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius of the monarch who ruled at Pátaliputra when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjaub. This king was the predecessor of Chandragupta or Sandracottus of the Greeks.

In Prákrit works, the S'akas or Scythians are called Sagas. It appears the Vikrama Samvat is coeval with the defeat of the S'akas by Vikramáditya, but the S'aka Nripa Kála, identical with the S'áliváhan era, is coeval with the conquest of Malwa, and the Deccan by the S'akas. S'aka-Kála, or the era of the Sákas, has been confounded even by indigenous writers, sometimes with the first and sometimes with the second event, leading to a mistake of 135 years in their calculations.

A loose leaf of a Patávali, or succession table, found in the remnants of an old Jain Library at Broach, after explaining briefly why Kálíka-chárya introduced the S'akas, how Vikramáditya expelled them, and established his own era, adds "one hundred and thirty-five years after

Vikrama having passed, again the S'akas expelled Vikrama-putra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

The chronology of the Chaudá (Chapotkata) dynasty, commencing with Vana-rāja, differs from that in the Prabandha Chintāmani and other lists, both in the order and number of the names of the kings, and the duration of their rule. This naturally raises the question whether the Merutunga of the Therávali is not different from the author of the Prabandha Chintāmani.

The following is a comparative table from the Prabandha Chintāmani, the Kumára-pála Prabandha of Jina Mandanoupādhyāya, and an anonymous Patávali :—

	Merutunga's Prabandha Chin-	Jinamandano Upadhyāya's Kumárapála Prabandha, written about 200 years ago.	Patávali ()
Vana-rāja	60	60	60
Yoga-rāja	35	35	32
Kshema-rāja . .		25	
Bhūyada	29	29	29
Vairi Sinvha . .	25	25	
Ratnāditya . . .	15	15	15
Sámanta-sinha	7	7	7
Múla-rāja	55	55	55
Chámunda-rāja	13	13	13
▼allabha-rāja	6 months	6 months	6 months
Durlabha-rāja	11·6	11·6	11·6
Bhíma-rāja or Bhíma-deva . .	* 42	42	42
Karnā-deva	Not given	29	29
Jayasinha-deva	49 through fault of copy	Not given	48·8·10
Kumárapála	31	31	30·8·27
Ajaya-deva or Ajayapála . .	3		11·28
Mála-rāja	2		2·1·24
Bhíma-devarāja	63		65·2·8
Páduká-rāja (interregnum) .			6 days.
*Tribhuvana-pála	{ 2 months 12 days.
Vísala-deva			18·7·11
Arjuna-deva			13·7·26
Sáranga-deva			21·8·8
Mlechha-rāja			

* In one copy 52 and in the other as Mála.

ART. VII.—*Notes on the Age and Works of Hemádri.* By
Mr. BHÁ'U DA'JI', Vice-President.

Read 12th November 1868.

ACCORDING to tradition among the learned, Hemádri was a Bráhmāna of the Mádhyandiniya S'ákhá of the S'ukla Yajur Veda. This is likely to be the truth, as in the Chaturvarga Chintámani, where he compares many texts from the S'ritis, Smritis, and Kalpasútras, he mostly quotes those which relate to the Mádhyandiniya S'ákhá. At the present day Brahmans of the Mádhyandiniya S'ákhá prevail in the district where Hemádri was born, viz., the Doulatabad district. Various treatises, professing to be the compositions of Hemádri are in my possession. They are:—

- 1 Chaturvarga Chintámani.
- 2 Muktóphala.
- 3 A Commentary on Wagbhata called A'yur Veda-rasáyana.

The Chaturvarga Chintámani treats of the Dharma S'ástra, *i.e.* of A'chára (custom or practice), Vyavahára (civil and criminal law), Práyaschitta (penance), Ishtha (essential ceremonies), Púrta (acts of pious liberality), and Adhyátma Vidyá (ontology.)

It is called Chaturvarga Chintámani. The subject of A'chára and of Ishtha-Púrta-Karma is minutely dwelt upon, and the subject of Vyavahára is treated of briefly and incidentally. My copy is not complete, nearly one-half being wanting.

Although it is evident from the writings of this author, as well as from those of others, that there were many treatises of this kind, for the correct interpretation of the S'ritis, Smritis, Puránas, &c., and although some of them are still extant, still it appears improbable that any of them could have come up to the works of Hemádri either in extent or depth of learning. The Chaturvarga Chintámani is not now met with in a complete form. The author divides it in five parts (Khandas), viz., 1 Vrata Khanda, 2 Dána Khanda, 3 T'irtha Khanda, 4 Moksha

Khanda, 5 Paris'eshha Khanda. Of these I possess the first three, and the remaining two are known to me only from being mentioned in the body of the work.

The copy of the *Vrata Khanda* is about 200 years old, but some of the final leaves are wanting.

The *Grantha Sankhyá*, or measure by 32 syllables is about 1200. It treats of the various ceremonials or religious observances to be observed in the various seasons, months and days. Although there are several special treatises on the *Vratas* (religious observances) there are many mentioned by Hemádrí which are not found in the others. The authorities in support of the ceremonial observances are of course the *Puránas*, but Hemádrí chiefly quotes the *Bhavishya Purána*.

The copy of the *Dána Khanda* is about three centuries old. The writing was finished in Samvat 1618, or A.C. 1561. It treats of charitable assignments or gifts, and the ceremonies which should accompany them. The authorities quoted are the *Puránas*, although sometimes the *S'ritis* and *Smritis* are also quoted. The present popular treatises, *Dána Mayukha* and *Dána Chandriká* and others, do not contain many of the *Dánas* in Hemádrí's treatise.

The *T'irtha Khanda* (relating to pilgrimages and holy places) has not been found; neither is the *Moksha Khanda* (treating of emancipation) procurable.

The *Paris'eshha Khanda* is larger than the *Vrata* and *Dána Khanda* put together. It is divided into *S'raddha Khanda*, *Kála Khanda*, and *Pratisthá Khanda*, but probably there are other parts, as there is a tradition that Hemádrí has a treatise on the daily (*A'nhika*) ceremonies. A small treatise called *Práyashchitta* Hemádrí is in my collection, but it is very doubtful, from the style, whether it is his composition.

Chaturvarga Chintámani is the name given to this Encyclopædic work, from its embracing the four subjects of *Dharma* (virtue), *Artha* (wealth), *Káma* (wish, pleasure), and *Moksha* (emancipation).

Hemádrí is a well-known name amongst the learned, and stands much in their estimation as that of Mádhava, who both are regarded as two of the pillars of the *Dharmashastra*.

Mádhava's style is more elegant and refined than that of Hemádrí.

To those who have studied the *Púrva-mímansá* of Jaiminí, the understanding of Hemádrí's works is not difficult, but without such aid

many portions of the work cannot be properly made out. And as there are now-a-days few Sanscrit Scholars well read in Jaiminí, the works of Hemádri also have necessarily fallen into comparative disuse and neglect.

The texts quoted are from the Mantras and Bráhmaṇas of the various S'ákhás of the four Vedas—but especially from the Satapatha S'riti, or Bráhmaṇa.

Texts are quoted from the Bráhmaṇas of the Taittiríya S'ákhá, and from the current Gopatha Bráhmaṇa of the A'tharvana Veda. Few or no treatises quote so many texts from the Kalpasútras, those from the Kátyayana or Kátíya Súra of the Vájasaneyí S'ákhá of the Sákla Yajur Veda being most abundant. The Maitráyaṇíya Katha Súra, Mánava Maitráyaṇíya Súra, A'pastamba Súra, Baudháyaṇa Súra, As'waláyana Súra, S'aunaka Súra, Kupoláda Súra, Kausíka Pranita S'raddha Kalpa S'utra, Baijavápa Grihya S'utra, S'aunaka Grihya Súra, S'ánkhyayana Grihya Súra, Chandoga Paris'ishta, Vájasaneyya Paris'eshta, Kathaka Grihya Paris'ishta, Ránáyana Súra, Páras'kara Grihya Súra, Páras'kara Súra, Kátyáyana Súra, Charaká Dhwaya Súra, and other Sutras of the four Vedas are quoted. The authors of the Sútras are mostly indicated by the name of the Súra itself. The Ránáyana Súra is a Kalpa Súra of the Ránáyana S'ákhá of the Sáma Veda, but comparatively the greatest are the Kauthumi and the Ránáyana S'ákhás. The former prevails in Gujarat and the latter in Dravid Des'a. The author of the Ránáyana Súra is stated in the work to be the sage Gobhila. In the same way Kátyáyana is said to have been the author of the Chandoga Paris'ishta, and the author of the Charaká Dhwaya Súra is Vatsa. The author exhibits greater acquaintance with the Maitráyaṇíya Súra, and it is also a fact that the Maitráyaṇí Brahmanas are still to be found in the villages or towns in the neighbourhood of Dowlatabád.

The S'aunaka, Pippaláda, and Kaus'sika Sútras are of the S'ákhás of the A'tharvana Veda, and are comparatively scarce. Of the 9 S'ákhás of this Veda, only the first two are to be found. The Látyáyana Dráhyáyana Kalpa Sútras, although extant, are not met with in the quotations.

The Commentators on the Kalpa Sútras, such as Devaswámí, Dhurta Swámí, Karko-pádhyáya, Jayanta-Swámí, &c., are frequently quoted. To what province Devaswámí belonged cannot yet be made out. Deva-

swámí has a commentary on the Bauddháyana Súra and the A's'waláyana Grihya Súra, but whether the same Devaswámí wrote both is by no means certain. The epithet Swámí indicates the author to have been a native of the Carnatic.

Dhúrta Swámí is a commentator on the A'pastamba Súra, is as learned, and probably as old, and a native of the same country as Deva-swámí.

Karko-pádhyáya is the author of a splendid commentary on the Kátiya or Kátyáyana Súra, based on Jaininíya púrva Mímánsá. It has been published in Germany. Hemádri frequently quotes Karka, and often differs from him. He is sometimes called Bháshyakára.

Jayanta Swámí is a commentator on the A'swaláyana Grihya Súra and has probably a commentary on the A'swaláyana S'ranta Súra.

The names of many Smritis and their authors are given in the Chaturvarga Chintámáni. A large number of them are still extant, others are only known by their names.

Medhátithí, the commentator on Manu is frequently quoted. Medhátithí quotes Kumáрила bhatta, and is therefore subsequent to him.

I possess a copy of Medhátithí, written about 300 years ago.

Aparárka is frequently quoted. He appears to have been a commentator on the Yádnya Valkya Smriti, but none of his productions are available. He is quoted by the author of the Smrití Chandriká.

S'ankha dhara or S'ankha S'rídharma is frequently quoted, and as the Pandits would say, is "broken," or proved in places to be in the wrong.

Viswarúpa, Hari-hara, Váma-deva, Govindo-pádhyáya, Trikánda Mandana, Smriti-Mahárnava Krita, Mádhava, and other authors are mentioned.

Vis'warúpa is a commentator on Yádnyavalkya's Smriti, and preceded Vidnyáneswara, because the latter notices the commentary of Vis'warúpa, as being difficult. Vis'warupa has written a commentary on the theological and speculative works of S'ankara's school. He therefore must be placed after the first and great S'ankaráchárya, and before Vidnyáneswara.

Mádhava, it is scarcely necessary to add, is different from the learned brother of S'ayana and the liberal Minister of Bukka rájá.

The names of Smṛiti Mahārmava, Smṛityārtha Sāra, Brihaspati Smṛiti Tīkā, Hārīta Smṛiti Bhāṣhya, and other comparatively modern works occur. Of these, the second only is procurable.

Of the Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas quoted, there are several not commonly known, such as the Kālottara (Upa-Purāṇa) and Samāsa sanhitā. Although the Chaturvarga Chintāmani treats of the subjects of A'chāra, Vyavahāra, Prāyaschitta, and Ishtapurta Karma, the second subject is very briefly treated. In the S'raddha Khanda of the Paris'esha Khanda, the words Dāya, Riktha, and Samvibhāga are explained; the rights of possession of Brahmans and others, and the subject of Strīdhana is briefly treated. It is quite possible that there were parts of the Paris'esha parva, treating specially and more fully of these and allied subjects.

One fact, however, goes against this supposition. Modern authors do not quote Hemādri on Vyavahāra as frequently as on Dharma S'āstra.

Hemādri's Commentary on Wāgbhata commences with salutation to Vishnu, and states that Hemādri, the author of the Chaturvarga Chintāmani, has composed the Commentary on the Ashtānga-hridaya which is the name of Wāgbhata's medical treatise. After consulting, and in conformity with the opinions, of Charaka, Hārīta and Sus'ruta, &c., Harichandra has commented on Charaka and Jaijjata on Sus'ruta, and himself (Hemādri) on Wāgbhata. The commentary is called A'yurveda-rasāyana, and he adds that he is the Mantri, or minister of Rāma Rāja, in possession of S'ri-Karna (the seal?). In this commentary are found the names Charaka, Sus'ruta, Bheda, Hārīta, Sangraha-kāra, Khāranādī, Jaijjata, Bhattāraka, Harichandra, &c. Charaka, Sus'ruta, and Bheda flourished long before Wāgbhata, who mentions them.

Harichandra, the Commentator on Charaka, is mentioned by Bāna-bhatta, in his Harsha-charita, written in the 7th century of the Christian era, where he is called Bhattāra Harichandra, whilst Hemādri calls him Bhattāraka Harichandra. The works of Hārīta and Bheda are supposed to exist, but I have as yet failed in procuring them.

Hemādri is the author of a treatise called Mukta-phala, in which extracts from the Bhāgawata, bearing on the 9 rasas (sentiments), and for the support of Bhakti, or faith, are taken. From the verses at the beginning and at the end, the treatise appears to have been composed

after the Chaturvarga Chintámani, but at the end of each subject the words "iti Bopadeva Pandita Virachite," or "Pandita Bopadeva Virachite," or sometimes "Bopadeva Virachite," are found, showing that Bopadeva was the author of the work. There is a tradition that Bopadeva was patronized by Hemádri, and that works actually composed by him, were out of compliment published as Hemádri's.

A Bopadeva is the author of a treatise on Grammar, called the Mugdha bodha, and of a Dhátu-pátha, called Kavikalpa-druma, and of a medical treatise of a hundred verses. At the end of the grammatical treatise the following verse is found :—

॥ विद्वन्धनेश्वरच्छात्रोभिषक्केशवनन्दनः ॥

॥ बोपदेवश्चकारेदं विप्रोवेदपदारपदं ॥

"This grammar is composed by Bopadeva, a brahman, the disciple of the Pundit Dhanes'wara and son of Vaidya Kes'ava."

At the end is the expression "Bopadeva Goswámí Virachitam, Mugdha bodha Vyákaranam Samáptam." From the epithet "Goswámí," and the fact of the grammar being extensively adopted in Bengal, it appears that this Bopadeva was a Bengal Brahman, different from the one at the Court of Hemádri. At the end of the hundred verse medical treatise, of which I possess a very corrupt copy, there is a verse, full of clerical errors, from which it may be gleaned that Bopadeva flourished at Sártha (?), where a thousand Brahmins lived, and that he was the son of Dhanes'a Kes'ava. Dhanes'a and Kes'ava appear from the Kavikalpadruma to have been different persons.

There is a commentary on Bháskaracharya's Lilávati by Bopadeva, the son of Bhíma deva.

This is probably the Bopadeva who flourished at the Court of Hemádri, differing from the author of the Mugdha-bodha.

The verses at the commencement of the Chaturvarga Chintáman are full of exaggerated praise of Hemádri's learning, and especially his liberality, and it is clear these could not have been composed by himself.

There is a tradition also that a Pundit named Bopadeva was the real author of the most popular of the Puránas, the Bhágawata. If there was such a Bopadeva, he must have flourished before the time of

Hemádri, because in the Vrata, Dána, and Kála Khandas, verses are quoted from the Bhágawata, and the Bhágawata itself is recommended in the chapter on gifts to be offered as a gift. That the Bhágawata so recommended was the Vaishnava Bhágawata, and not the Devi Bhágawata, appears from the fact of its Grantha Sankhyá being mentioned as 18,000. The day on which it should be given is Bhádrapada Párnimá, which is the day also recommended in the Vaishnava Bhágawata. There is also a tradition that a commentary by Hemádri on a commentary of the Bhágawata is extant.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V. 1839, pages 178—188, there are two copper-plate grants published by Mr. Wathen, dated S'aka 1212 (A.C. 1291) and S'aka 1194 (A.C. 1273). They contain the following facts. In the renowned Yadu race was Rájá Bhillum. After his death Jaitra-pála succeeded. To him his son Singhana succeeded. Next came Krishna, next his younger brother Mahádeva. He was succeeded by Rámachandra-Deva, the son of Rájá Krishna. This Rámachandra or Ramdeva defeated the kings of Telingana, Gurjar, and Málava. Ráya Náráyana, Ráya Pitúnaha, Dwárávati parivriḍha, were his titles. His minister was Hemádri (Journal R. A. Society, Vol. V. p. 186). This is the Rámadeva Jádava of Devagiri, who succumbed to the power of the Mahomedans.

Whilst Hemádri was minister, there flourished Achyuta Náyaka, the son of Mudhugi, descended from Jallana of Gautama Gotra and of the Sarviya family title. He had the titles Mandalíka Pítámaha, Mandalíka Bhára Sankhara, Mandalíka Dhádi tadaka, Paschiríya Vibháda, and was a contemporary of Ramachandra. He gave a village of the name of Vaulá. In an inscription on a stone slab at Patana at Chálisgam; published by me in the Journal Royal Asiatic Society 1864, the Yadava Rajas Bhillum, Jaitrapála, and Singhana are mentioned, and the date of that inscription (Saka 1128 or A.C. 1206) is perfectly compatible with that of the copper-plate grants.

At the commencement of the Vrata Khanda, the genealogy of kings given by Hemádri is as follows :—In the Yadu race, descended from the Soma Vansa (lunar race) was Rájá Bhillum, from him was Jaitra-pála, next was Singhana deva, next was Jaigáki (Jaitrapála). He had two sons, Krishna and Mahádeva. In the reign of Mahádeva, Hemádri, whilst a minister, was in possession of all the regal powers? The capital was Devagiri in Setuma-des'a, which I suppose was the ancient

name of the Dowlutabad district. He gives his own genealogy as follows :—

In the Vatsa-gotra (Vatsa family) Vasudeva, a very learned Brahman, was born, from him was Káma deva, from him was Hemádri Súri.

The genealogy given in the Paris'esha Khanda is as follows :—Singhana, Jaitrapála, Mahádeva.

His own genealogy—Vámana, from him Vasudeva, of him was Káma-deva, and from him was Hemádri.

Hemádri flourished at the end of the twelfth and commencement of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

ART. VIII.—*Note on Mukunda-Raja, the oldest Marátha Author.*

By Mr. BHÁ'U DA'JI, Vice-President.

Read 12th November 1868.

MUKUNDA-RA'JA is the author of three works; Viveka-Sindhu, Paramámrita, and Múlasthambha. Of these the first two are on the unity of life, a metaphysical Pantheistic work, the last is a description and praise of Siva.

Mukunda-rája has given the succession of his gurus, in the latter part of the Viveka-Sindhu, in the 11th chapter, from the 34th to 45th or concluding verse; A'dinátha, Harinátha, Raghunátha.

Harinátha was born in Ambánagar, on the banks of the Bána-gangá. This appears to be Jogaiché Ambé on the Bána-gangá, a tributary of the Godavery. He was a brahman of the Mádhyandiniya S'ákhá, the family title was Champé-gorata. His father got him to study the Vedas and S'ástras. When 12 years old, having observed the great Pás'upata or Siva rites he propitiated Siva. He propitiated Dattátreya, Munis'wara and Guru S'ankara on the banks of the Gautami (Godavery). At the time of a sacrifice (Homa) he saw, says Mukundarája, Siva himself. He had the blessing from Siva that whoever received his instructions and moral advice would be a dhyáni. His disciples were many, such as Surendra-bhárati. At the head of them was Ráma-chundra. He instructed many disciples, amongst others Mukundarája.

In the Viveka-Sindhu Mukunda supports the belief of the identity of souls with the divine soul. He often refers to the Sánkhyá philosophical doctrines; the Bhágawata Gítá is mentioned in many places, and the ten principal Upanishads are sometimes quoted. Maráthí words, now only met with in particular parts of Maháráshtra, occur, such as Vachava (may go), an expression now used in Goa and its neighbourhood only. He practised Rája-Yoga.

About the middle of the Viveka-Sindhu, is the following in ovi metre :—

॥ नृसिंहाचा बल्लाळ त्याचा कुमर जैतपाळ ॥ तेणें करविला हा रोळ ग्रंथरचनेचा ॥

Of Nrisinha was Ballala, his son was Jaitapala, he caused this kind of treatise to be composed. The Ballala here mentioned is undoubtedly the same as Bhillam, and Jaita-pála the same as Jaitra-pála.

Various stories regarding Mukunda-*raja* and Jaitra-pála-*raja* are current. Mukunda-*raja* flourished about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era.

I have made unceasing efforts to discover works in Marathi, or even stray poetic pieces, older than the works of Mukunda-Rája, but without success.

APPENDIX.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1867 and 1868.

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through the
Hon. Mr. Jus-
tice Newton.

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dried brick from the large tope at Sanchi

Lieut. Col. J.
W. Osborne.

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— (12) Silver	The Govt. of Bombay.
— (12) Silver	E. James, Esq., C. S.
— (15) small, Copper, of Kumara Gupta.....	Captain J. W. Watson, through the Hon. Mr. Justice New-ton.
— (20) Copper, of one of the Gupta kings, probably Kumara	The Chief of Walla.

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DONORS.

FIGURE, Female, in stone, with tiara; dug up at Valabhi.....	Captain J. W. Watson, through the Hon. Mr. Justice Newton.
FISH (Eyeless), and Eyeless Cray Fish (preserved in spirits), from Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, United States.....	W. E. Frere, Esq., C. S.
FOSSIL TUSK of Extinct Mammal, 20 feet below <i>alluvial</i> deposit on the banks of Krishna, about nine miles from Sattara	H. Cooke, Esq., M.D.
HALF CROWN, (1) York, of Charles I. with Ebor under the horse	The Hon. Mr. Justice Gibbs.
HEMATITE, from Iron Mountain, Missouri, United States	W. E. Frere, Esq., C.S.
IMAGE (Marble, Jain), from Sidphur, Pattan, 700 or 800 years old	T. Curtis, Esq.
——(Stone) of Ganpati, dug up at Valabhi	Captain J. W. Watson, through the Hon. Mr. Justice Newton.
—— do. do. small do. do. ————	—————
—— of some Dev or Devei, possibly Buddhist, though the figure appears to be a female one. . .	—————
——(Stone) Portion of; Dug up at Valabhi	—————
——(small) in Stone, representing killing buffalo; dug up at Valabhi	—————

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- INSCRIPTION (an), A Fragment of, obtained near Walla (the probable site of the ancient Valabhi).. Major S. C. Law.
- (a Copper Plate), of an ancient date, found in the village of Bhatera, of Kupperwunj Talooka. The following is the translation of the inscription :—
- “Khamdar Sha Ramchund Ameerschund, deposited (here) 1,51,000 worth of Mohurs, on Magsur Sud, 4th Samvat, 1332” (A. D. 1476) The Collector of Kaira, through the Government of Bombay.
- IRON ORE, and Iron Slag, Specimens of, found on the banks of the Puriavalee River The Govern- ment of Bom- bay, through W. Sowerby, Esq., C.E.
- From Iron Mountain, Missouri, United States W. E. Frere, Esq., C. S.
- from the Bluff, from Iron Mountain, Missouri, United States.....
- MARBLE SLAB (A), with an Inscription and coat-of- arms on it ; removed from over the gateway of an old Jesuit College at Ghorebunder ., The Collector of Tanna, through the Government of Bombay.
- MENCUBANG PENANG (a Bornean Timber), Specimen of, exposed in the sun for three weeks Messrs. W. Nicol & Co.
- PORTRAIT, One of a series of 178 of Indian Sove- reigns in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which were brought home by Mr. Clelland from Guja- rat, about A. D. 1740 R. R. W. Ellis, Esq.

DONORS.

RUPEE (English earliest), coined for Bombay	The Hon. Mr. Justice Gibbs.
RUPEES (5) whole and 2 halves	W. H. Propert, Esq., Agent to the Governor, Punch Mahals.
SEAL, (apparently) of semi-transparent blue stone ..	Captain J. W. Watson, through the Hon. Mr. Justice Newton.
SHELLS from Colombo, a Collection of	Mr. J. J. Mendoza.
VESSEL (an Earthen), "Ghurra," which was found on cleaning out an old well at Tarapore	Eduljee Heerjeebhoy, Esq., through the Collector of Tanna.

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PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC.

FROM 13TH DECEMBER 1866 TO 30TH NOVEMBER 1868.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th December 1866, Dr. Birdwood, the *Honorary Secretary*, read the following letter :—

“ Camp, Jubbulpore, 5th November 1866.

TO GEORGE BIRDWOOD, Esq., M.D.,

Honorary Secretary B. B. R. A. Society.

DEAR SIR,—It has given me much pleasure to receive your letter of the 1st November, telling me that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had unanimously elected me an honorary member of their body. May I ask you to express to the Society, at an early opportunity, my sense of the high honour its members have done me ?

Allow me also to tender my warm thanks to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, to the Honourable Mr. Tucker, and to yourself, for having brought my name before the Society on the occasion to which you advert.

I am, &c.,

R. TEMPLE.”

Proposed by the Honourable Munguldass Nathoobhoy, seconded by Surgeon Major T. B. Johnstone, M.D., and carried unanimously—
“ That duplicate copies of the Photographs of Ahmedabad and Beejapore be purchased for the Society.”

At the Monthly Meeting of the 10th January 1867, Dr. Birdwood, *Honorary Secretary*, read the following letters :—

“ 7th January 1867.

MY DEAR DR. BIRDWOOD.—I enclose for the Society's collection a specimen of the earliest English Rupee coined for Bombay. It is the only specimen I have been able to procure, as they are very scarce. This was purchased for me at a coin sale at Sotheby's in London. It bears—*Obv.* In centre ‘ The Rupee of Bombaim,’ and two roses beneath ; round the margin, ‘ Struck by the authority of Charles the

Second ;—*Rev. Royal Arms*—England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, quarterly ; legend continued from *Obv. ' King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.'*

There is a variety, the particulars of which I have not at hand, not having a copy of Ruding's Annals, but I will procure the necessary extract from home.

As I think such a collection as the Society's should not be without the first English Rupee, I beg to tender this for their acceptance.

Believe me, &c.,

J. GIBBS.

TO DR. BIRDWOOD, M.D.,

Honorary Secretary Bombay Br. R. A. Society, Town Hall."

Dr. Birdwood, the *Honorary Secretary*, also read a letter from Mr. W. H. Newnham, Secretary to the Forbes' Testimonial Fund Committee, accompanied with a circular to the Committee of Management sanctioning the sum of Rupees 250 to the Forbes' Testimonial Fund.

Proposed by James Taylor, Esq.,^{*} Seconded by Surgeon Major T. B. Johnstone, M.D., and carried unanimously—

"That Rupees 250 be subscribed to the Forbes' Testimonial Fund."

Mr. Martin Wood brought to the notice of the Meeting a letter which had appeared in one of the daily papers, referring to a quantity of Arabic and other ancient manuscript works deposited in the Mulla Firoz Library.

Dr. G. C. M. Birdwood, the *Honorary Secretary*, said that he would refer the matter to Dr. Dymock, as the most competent authority.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 14th February 1867, the *Officiating Honorary Secretary* read the following letters :—

From W. Loudon, Esq., expressing his willingness to act as Auditor for Mr. James Taylor, during Dr. Birdwood's absence in Europe.

From James Taylor, Esq., accepting the office of Officiating Honorary Secretary of the Society during the absence of Dr. Birdwood.

From the Officiating Deputy Secretary of the Bank of Bombay, informing that the cheques signed by Mr. James Taylor, the Officiating Honorary Secretary, will be honoured.

From Messrs. W. Nicol & Co., handing over a specimen of Mencubang Penang (a Bornean timber), as the gum exuded from it was interesting.

From Dr. A. H. Leith, announcing his resignation of membership of the Society, owing to his approaching departure from India.

From W. H. Newnham, Esq., Secretary to Kinloch Forbes' Memorial Fund Committee, acknowledging the receipt of a cheque for Rs. 250 on the Bank of Bombay subscribed towards it by the Society.

And the following from R. R. W. Ellis, Esq. :—

“ To The SECRETARY to the BOMBAY BRANCH of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to enclose one of a series of 178 portraits of Indian sovereigns in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which were brought home by Mr. Cleland from Guzerat about A.D. 1740, and shall esteem it a very great favour if you can kindly afford me any assistance in procuring any information, however slight, regarding any existing tribe with which the robe with points (below) given in the portrait can be connected. This very peculiar costume is, as far as my experience goes, in upwards of 30 years' service, quite unknown in Central India ; but as Mr. Cleland, who gave the portrait to the poet Pope, says that it continued to be worn by the Rajas in his time as an ensign of royalty, I am inclined to think that something might be found out if inquiry was made among the Jains, Shaiyas, Kawas, Kakateyas, or other known branches of the Chandrawanshi dynasty upon the subject. Begging your acceptance of the portrait, and trusting to your kindness to excuse the liberty which I have taken in troubling upon a matter of considerable interest to those engaged in such researches.

Believe me, &c.,

R. R. W. ELLIS.

Exeter, Nov. 16th.”

The Honorary President, in proposing the election of Dr. A. H. Leith as an Honorary Member of the Society, recalled to the remembrance of the meeting the singular interest and importance of the geological discoveries connected with the island of Bombay which had been made by that gentleman, and which had been brought to the notice of the Society by himself and by its late distinguished Secretary,

H. J. Carter, Esq., F.R.S., in their papers contained in the Society's Journal for 1852 and 1853, and in their donations to the Museum.

In proposing the election, also as an Honorary Member of the Society, of Senhor Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, Secretary of the Goa Government, Dr. Wilson directed attention to the "*Grammatica da Lingua Concani*" of Padre Thomaz Estavao, republished by him with a translation into Portuguese of the memoir on the geographical distribution of the principal languages of India, published in the Society's Journal by Sir Erskine Perry, along with other illustrative matter, and to the monthly periodical at present edited by him, entitled "*O Chronista de Tissuary*," which contains many historical and descriptive notices connected with the province of Goa.

The Honorary President then moved—"That the best thanks of the Society be offered to His Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., for his distinguished patronage of, and personal co-operation with, the Society." In doing this he said that, in the view of the many and high tributes of gratitude and praise which our retiring Governor had received and was receiving from the public, he would confine himself to the matters referred to in the motion. Sir Bartle's patronage of the Society, and that of his administrative associates, was that not of words but deeds, as to it the Society owed the liberal contribution of three hundred rupees monthly in aid of the higher objects of its institution. This patronage had no precedent in the West of India, except perhaps in the gift, through Sir John Malcolm, to the Society of the commodious rooms in which it met, and in which its literary treasures were deposited; and, it was very desirable that, in the first instance at least it should be devoted to some specific object, or historical illustration connected with the Bombay presidency—say the History of the Marathas, which, notwithstanding the admirable work of Captain Grant Duff, was yet capable of further elucidation and confirmation by the personal and family memoirs of the remarkable personages of Maratha History, and by documents of a similar character which could yet be collected. To facilitate a work of this kind, Sir Bartle Frere had lately encouraged the Maratha chiefs to collect the memorials of their own houses; and the result of this movement and of other inquiries which could easily be made, might be the acquisition and publication of valuable documents which might satisfy the curiosity and direct the judgment of inquirers in future times. The co-

operation of Sir Bartle with the literary labours of the Society had been frequently brought into play. He had presented the Society with a transcript made by two competent Mahomedan gentlemen of all the inscriptions found at the ruined city of Beejapoor, which contained a few of some value which had not yet been published or translated. He had also forwarded to the Society a list of Sanscrit works found in a temple at Sattara. He had done good service to antiquarian research by first bringing to notice the extensive series of Buddhist and Brahmanical excavations near the town of Karad, and at the termination of the plateaux running eastward from Mahableshwur. He was a valuable contributor to the Government Selections connected with both Sattara and Sind. The Society's Journal contains several interesting communications from his pen and those of his correspondents, such as his Memorandum of the Buddhist Excavations near Karad, now referred to; Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sind; and Notices, Historical and Antiquarian, of places in Sind. During his government of Bombay he had supplied the Society with whatever incidental information he thought might be interesting to its members. It was an act of simple justice gratefully to acknowledge the many favours received at the hands of His Excellency.

Dr. J. G. Bühler seconded the motion of Dr. Wilson, dwelling on Sir Bartle Frere's patronage of Oriental literature, and joining in the expression of the hope that the Society would follow up the suggestion now again made about the publication of documents illustrative of Maratha History.

The motion of the Honorary President was then unanimously adopted.

The Honorary President then begged Mr. Rivett-Carnac (lately admitted a member of the Society), the able and zealous Secretary of the Nagpore Antiquarian Society, now present, to furnish the meeting with a brief account of his observations, lately made, connected with the Scythian tombs in Central India.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 14th March 1867, Mr. James Taylor, the *Officiating Honorary Secretary*, read the following letters, Nos. 320 and 479 of 1867, from J. King, Esq., Acting Under-Secretary to Government, General Department, forwarding copy of a letter, No. 1142, dated 4th February 1867, from the Secretary to the Govern-

ment of India, with accompaniment, together with a copy of a Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, the property of the Government of India, to be sold by public sale at Calcutta.

A letter from J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Goa and its dependencies, thanking the Society for the honour that had been done him in electing him an Honorary Member, and expressing his willingness to promote the objects of the Society as far as he possibly can.

The ordinary business of the meeting having been disposed of, the Honourable the President stated that one of the Vice-Presidentships had fallen vacant in consequence of the departure of Dr. Stovell from India, and that he begged to propose, in his place, the Honourable the Chief Justice—Sir Richard Couch.

The proposition was seconded by James Taylor, Esq., Honorary Secretary B.B.R.A.S., and carried unanimously.

The President next remarked, that the Society had been honoured through a long series of years with the patronage of the Governor, and that at their last meeting they had recorded their sense of the services rendered to them by their retiring Patron, Sir Bartle Frere. He proposed, therefore, that a deputation, consisting of himself (the President), the Honorary President, and the Honorary Secretary to the Society, should wait on his Excellency the Right Honourable Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, and request him to become the Patron of the Society.

The proposition was seconded by the Honourable George Foggo, and unanimously agreed to.

The Honourable the President, reverting to one of the subjects brought before the Society at its last meeting, when he had been unable to attend, remarked that the Society could not but recognise the propriety of taking some steps with a view to the collection and publication of authentic ancient documents elucidatory of Maratha History. In the prosecution of such an object the Society must take a special interest, and many of its members would feel a kind of obligation laid on them in the matter by the liberal grant which Government had made to the institution. We had indeed in Grant Duff's invaluable history, a work which in some aspects left scarcely anything to be desired; but while we could not hope to add much to the results of his patient investigation and conscientious discrimination, and had little need to seek for

confirmation of a narrative which had been amply tested during a long series of years through the practical researches and discussions incident to the administration of the Maratha territory, and had now taken the place of settled history, it was still felt by many that the preservation of the interesting materials from which that admirable work had been produced was an object of very great importance. In no department of knowledge perhaps were we dependent so exclusively on a single authoritative work; and it might be feared that the recovery of the many records, and the tracing again of the varied sources of information which have been so effectively used, is every day becoming a matter of more difficulty. With this feeling, he (the President) had been of late making inquiries in order to ascertain the character and number of the historical documents which might be available for the Society's purposes, and he had especially taken advantage of the late visit to the presidency of so many of the Sirdars of the Deccan to obtain anything which they might possess in the form of ancient and authentic narratives of events. The result, however, had not as yet been encouraging. The records which the Sirdars have preserved are, as far as they have been examined, very meagre, being in some cases little more than genealogies, and alluding to such contemporary events only as intimately concerned the family. Further narratives, however, have been promised, and we may hope that diligent inquiries will just now meet with some reward.

Some members present (and from among them the President specially named Rao Saheb Vishvanáth Naráyan Mandlik) would be able to give valuable assistance in the work which had been entered on. Doubtless there were literary treasures hoarded here and there throughout the country, and it was of great moment that private libraries should, wherever practicable, be scrutinised, as there was ground for apprehending that some of the materials on which the early history of the Marathas is based will, unless promptly rescued, be each year passing beyond our reach. The President referred especially to the library of the late Náná Phadanavisa, which would probably be still carefully preserved, and would no doubt be courteously made accessible to any member competent to examine it who might be passing through Wace, and have the necessary leisure.

Rao Saheb Vishvanáth Naráyan Mandlik said:—I think, Sir, a good deal may be done by searching through the public library of the late Rájáh of Sattára, and if H. H. the Rání Sáheb could be induced

to show some of the old *Bakhars* (or chronicles), which I believe are to be found in the late Rájáh's private library. When I was at Mahábaleshwar last year, I obtained a copy of the life of Rámadása, the religious preceptor of S'ivájí, the founder of the Marátha empire. It contains some anecdotes which may not obtain credence beyond the range of his religious followers ; still it is an interesting work, and gives us a view of men and things as they, I believe, existed in Maháráshtra more than two hundred years ago, and is therefore worthy of publication. I understand that portions of this narrative, relating to grants of land, &c., can be verified by other incontestable records which exist to this day. I am sorry the MSS. in Sir Bartle Frere's library were lost, along with his whole collection, in the sea, in its passage between Calcutta and Bombay. There may be some MSS. in the library of the late Náná Phadanavis at Menawli ; but there are not many, I believe. At the suggestion of Sir Bartle Frere, I spoke, two years ago, to the son of the late Phadanavisa, in order to write a complete memoir of the deceased minister ; but I was informed that all the information the family possessed had already been made over to Captain Macdonald when he wrote his life. But, above all these, the best place to look for the sources of Maráthá History is the Poona Duftur, which contains a mass of papers which ought to be indexed and published. I believe diaries by the old Maráthá Sirdars exist. They may be meagre, and not so interesting as the diaries of abler and more literary men ; still they would be very valuable to have. Some years ago a committee was appointed to report on the advisability, I believe, of making over a portion of the Poona Duftur to the Educational Department. Mr. Krishna Shástri Chiplunkar, Mr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., and Rao Sáheb Bháskar Dámodar were the members. But I believe the project fell through. Much of what lies uselessly in the mass of papers now in the old Duftur would, if brought to light, be of use to all. I would therefore suggest the advisability of forming a small compact sub-committee of two or three members, who would work on a systematic plan, and give us some works to illustrate the Maráthá period.

Mr. Taylor said he considered the Society was greatly indebted to the Honourable the President for the interesting remarks he had made in bringing an important subject before it which had been previously considered on more than one occasion. He was especially pleased at hearing the high testimony borne by the President to the value of

Mr. Grant Duff's History of the Marathas. The President being a high authority on such a subject, his testimony would carry great weight with some persons of deserved influence on topics connected with Maratha History who had conceived an opinion that Mr. Grant Duff's History was not quite deserving of the authority generally conceded to it, because the history did not usually specify the authorities on which it was founded. Mr. Taylor said he thought such objectors laboured under serious misconceptions as to the origin of the work and the manner in which it was compiled. Mr. Grant Duff's preface to his history explains some points, and indicates others, in a manner which to any careful reader must show the difficult character of the task he undertook, and the admirable manner in which he performed it under difficulties which few readers of the work can have any conception of. Mr. Taylor said he spoke thus confidently on this point because he was in possession of information given by Mr. Grant Duff himself which bore out in a very striking way more than he had stated or thought fitting at present to state on the subject, though he might do so at another time on a convenient opportunity. Regarding the estimation in which the work was held by those most competent to judge, he (Mr. Taylor) was informed by the late Mr. Goldsmid, one of the ablest servants the Bombay Government ever had in the Revenue Department, that when he (Mr. Goldsmid) was engaged on the assessment and survey in the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country, which is often called by his name, Mr. Grant Duff's History was his constant companion, and as an authority on all points connected with the Marathas and their history he considered the work invaluable. The same opinion he had also heard expressed by Sir Bartle Frere. Mr. Taylor thought it would be a very desirable thing for the Society to undertake the editing and the publication of any MS. Maratha records illustrative of the history or the manners and customs of the Maratha people that could be procured either from the Deccan Chiefs or from the public repositories; but, from what had been said by the Honourable President, he was afraid there were few MSS. of much value on these points to be met with—however, it was very important that inquiry, at all events, should be made.

The President expressed his concurrence with the remarks of Mr. James Taylor respecting the history of Grant Duff, and, with reference to the remarks of Mr. Vishwanath Mandlik, observed that the suggestion with respect to the library of the late Rajah of Sattara was one of

which advantage would be taken, and that on a subsequent occasion it would probably be considered advisable to elect a small sub-committee of the Society to take action with respect to the collection of Marathi manuscripts. With respect to the suggestion that the Poona Duftur should be resorted to, he thought that a good deal of difficulty would be encountered in any endeavour which the Society might make to turn its contents to account. The value of the archives there preserved (in connection probably with the later rather than the earlier times of Maratha history) was unquestionable, but he feared that they would be found to exist rather in a form to yield return to patient and judicious collection and compilation, than in such a state as would admit of the immediate publication of any isolated portions. This, however, might be further inquired into, and even if the President's impressions were correct, we might still hope that, as literary tastes and critical judgment are being formed among Native scholars in the immediate vicinity of the Poona Duftur, some one from among their number may at no distant day lay the Society and Indian students generally under large obligations by undertaking to examine and to utilise those records in the only spirit in which such a task could be hopefully entered on—from personal interest in the subject, and with the special qualifications for carrying the inquiry to a successful issue.

At the monthly Meeting of the 11th April 1867, Mr. James Taylor, the *Officiating Honorary Secretary*, read the following letters:—

• TO JAMES TAYLOR, Esq.,

Officiating Honorary Secretary to the Bombay Branch of
the Royal Asiatic Society.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 28th February, transmitting to me a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Society on the 14th of that month. *

I beg you will take an early opportunity of expressing to the Society my sense of the high honour they have done me by placing this resolution on their records, and that you will be good enough to convey the assurance of the undiminished interest I shall always feel in the objects of the Society's labours, and that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to promote those objects, should it be in my power to do so, on my arrival in England.—I have, &c.,

• H. B. E. FRERE.

P. & O. S. S. Malta, The Red Sea, March 15, 1867.

A letter from the Honorable Sir R. Couch, Knight, Chief Justice, dated March 27, 1867, intimating his acceptance of the office of one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

“No. 1125—102.

*Chief Commissioner's Office,
Central Provinces.*

From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,
To the Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

Dated Nagpore, the 27th of March 1867.

SIR,—I am directed to forward for the acceptance of the Asiatic Society of Bombay six copies of a set of papers on the aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces.

2. The papers were left in manuscript by the late Rev. S. Hislop, of the Free Church Mission, Nagpore. The work has been edited by Mr. Temple, at whose direction this letter is written—I have, &c.,

C. BERNARD,
Secretary.”

The *Officiating Honorary Secretary* informed the Meeting that the President, the Honorable Mr. Newton, and the Honorary President, the Rev. Dr. Wilson, (the Secretary himself having been unable to be present) had waited on His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor to convey the resolution passed at the last meeting, and that he was graciously pleased to accept the office of Patron of the Society.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th June 1867, Mr. James Taylor *Officiating Honorary Secretary*, read the following letter from Mr. W. E. Frere, late President of the Society :—

“42, Clarges Street, London, 6th May 1867.

MY DEAR SIR,—When lately at Washington, in the United States I took advantage of the facilities offered by the Smithsonian Institute there to send the following articles, which I had procured during my travels, to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society :—

1. A bottle containing an eyeless fish and eyeless crayfish (preserved in spirits) found in the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky.

The Society, if I recollect right, have specimens of similar fish from near Zanzibar.

2. A piece of iron ore 'from the Bluff,' i.e., the mine, and another piece of iron ore from the surface of the 'Iron Mountain' near St. Louis, on the Mississippi, and a piece of hematite from the same country.

They are all genuine, as I found them myself.

The Society receive reports of the Smithsonian Institute, I believe, regularly, and they will therefore hardly require me to inform them that Dr. Henry's object in carrying out Mr. Smithson's bequest is not so much to make a collection or museum for Washington, as to exchange specimens with museums in different parts of the world; he is therefore grateful for any specimens he may receive from foreign parts, and returns the greatest number to those Museums from which he receives the most. I therefore hope the B. B. R. A. S. will, both for their own interest as well as to aid in Dr. Henry's good work, send him duplicates of anything not already in the Smithsonian Institute which they may have to spare.

I find that the only numbers of your Journal in the Smithsonian Institute are I., II., III., IV., V., VI., XII., XIV., and XXI. I hope the others are procurable and can be sent to them.—I am, &c.,

W. E. FRERE."

Mr. James Taylor, *Officiating Honorary Secretary*, informed the Meeting that on the receipt of Mr. Frere's letter the numbers of the Society's Journal alluded to in his letter were forwarded to the Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

* Dr. Wilson directed attention to several specimens of the common Calamus (Calamus Rudentus) procured last month at Mahabuleshwar from the Koyana valley, with a view to the recognition of this cane as indigenous in Western India, though it has not been recorded as such in the works of our local botanists. Mr. Graham, in his Catalogue of Bombay Plants, p. 225, refers to it as found in "Gardens at Seroor, probably introduced from the Eastern Islands." Mr. Dalzell and Dr. Gibson do not give it a place in the Bombay flora. Even Dr. Roxburgh, Vol. III., p. 776, speaks of it as a "native of the Moluccas, from thence introduced into the Botanic Garden in 1798." Dr. Wilson added that there is reason to believe that it is found as indigenous in other districts of India; General Macpherson, of the Bengal Service, who lately visited Mahabuleshwar, had a specimen with him which he had procured at Darjeeling.

Dr. Broughton had the impression that this cane also grew on the Nilgiris.

Dr. Johnstone mentioned his having received a specimen of cane which he thought like it, from the neighbourhood of Malwan.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 11th July 1867—

The Honourable the *President*, Mr. Justice Newton, stated that through the kind co-operation of Colonel Keatinge, V.C., and of several of the Chiefs of Kathiawar, he had the pleasure of laying before the Society a number of coins, and a fragment of an inscribed stone. Nearly all the coins he presented to the Society on behalf of the above donors ; and the inscribed stone was presented by Major Law.

The coins, he stated, though not adding to our knowledge respecting the various ancient dynasties which they represent, are yet a valuable contribution to the Society's collection, the completeness of which is materially advanced by their acquisition, while a few coins from among the number are in themselves of considerable interest : and a cursory examination of the whole as they lay on the table might perhaps kindle in the minds of some members a desire to know more of these deeply interesting remains of distant antiquity, some of which bring the northern provinces of our Presidency into such close connection with ancient Greece, and with the fire-worshippers of Persia.

The President then gave the following description of the coins :—

Presented by the Thakur of Bhaonagar.

1 Silver coin of Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Rudra Dámá (common). No. 18 in my list of 1862.

1 Silver Coin of Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Satya Sáh (rare). No. 19 in my list.

9 Silver coins on which little is legible, but enough to show that they are the coinage of Kumára Gupta, with the usual legend of "Parama Bhagavata Rájadhirájá S'ri Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya."

1 Silver coin of the Bhattáraka type, which I assigned on a previous occasion to the Valabhi dynasty.

Five specimens of a silver coinage, of extreme thinness, being little more than laminæ of metal, not represented in the Society's collection, but of which I have once before received specimens from Gujarat. On every coin of this kind that I have seen there are faint traces of some

figure, perhaps an elephant—and possibly of a legend on the exergue. In no case, however, has the device been sufficiently distinct for identification. The coins are not without interest, as they differ so entirely in type from those of all other dynasties that have obtained a footing in Kathiawar. They have probably issued from the mint of some dynasty of which no other record remains; but they supply, I think, sufficient grounds for assigning to the dynasty a date subsequent to the extinction of that offshoot of the Sassanian monarchy whose rule in Kathiawar is evidenced by a coin presently to be alluded to. It is difficult to find any earlier place for them, for the earliest coinage of the country was doubtless that derived immediately from the Parthian or Bactrian Greeks, and the sequence thenceforward of the Sâhs, the Guptas, and the Valabhi line may be looked on as demonstrated by the similarity of type which characterizes their coinages. On the other hand it may be remarked that the coins of the Sassanian invaders are in some cases almost as thin as those under consideration, though the resemblance extends no further. These coins weigh from 17 to 20 grains each.

Presented by His Highness the Jam of Nawanagar.

1 Coin of Vijaya Sâh, son of Dámá Sâh. No 10 in my list of 1862.

1 Coin of Svámí Rudra Sâh, son of Svámí Rudra Dámá (silver). No. 18 in the list.

1 Coin of Kumára Gupta (silver).

3 Coins of the Sassanian type.

Presented by the Thakur of Morvi.

1 Sâh Coin—Vijaya Sâh, son of Dámá Sâh. (No. 10 in my list.) It gives the date with remarkable distinctness.

4 Copper Gupta coins. Scarcely any portion of the legend is visible but I recognise the coins as Skanda Gupta's.

1 Silver coin of the Sassanian type, already alluded to, interesting as approaching nearer to the original coinage of the Sassanidæ than any specimen that has before reached me from Gujarat or Kathiawar. Mr. James Prinsep first remarked on the evidence which some coins of this class offer of the rule of a dynasty of fire-worshippers in Gujarat, and I may avail myself of the present opportunity to point out by a small series of these coins, the rapid-deterioration of this coinage, as

the isolation of the branch settled in Kathiawar from the parent stock may be inferred to have become complete. The first in the series is a coin of the Sassanians, beautifully executed and full of detail, and in the coin now received from Kathiawar it will not be difficult, though there is a lamentable falling off, to trace on the obverse the bust of the king, and on the reverse the same fire altar and two priests. In the subsequent specimens all knowledge of the original designs appears to have faded away. First the ear ornaments of the king cease to be recognised, are separated from the bust, and figured as a distinct device : then different parts of the bust and face are gradually isolated or lost ; and ultimately an assemblage of lines and dots is arrived at, which, but for the means which we possess of tracing the descent step by step, it would be impossible to identify as intended to be a representation of the artistic bust and fire altar on the original coin.

From the Thakur of Wadwán.

5 Coins of the Sassanian type, intermediate between the highest and lowest orders found in Gujarat.

Presented by the Chief of Walla.

20 Copper coins of one of the Gupta Kings, probably Kumára, though scarcely a letter of the legend is left on any of them. The thin film of silver with which some of them were originally covered is still to be seen, and they thus add to the evidence which we already possess, that the introduction of coinage did not long precede the idea of making it a means of fraud.

From the Chief of Jasdán.

Two coins of Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh—one of them in excellent preservation.

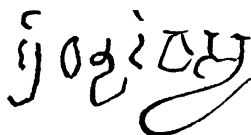
Jemadar Bháudin of Junágadh has also sent several coins, but these I at present retain, as he wishes that some of them should be returned to him.

I take this opportunity of remarking that in my list of the Sáh Kings given at page 26 of Vol. VII. of the Society's Journal, and in several other places in the paper of which that list forms part, the name of the seventeenth king is erroneously written as A'sadámá, instead of Yas'adámá, as determined on page 6.

With respect to the inscription presented to the Society by Major Law, who obtained it near Walla (the probable site of the ancient Valabhi), the President remarked that it was too fragmentary to permit of any

attempt at translation, and from the worn appearance of the fractured sides he feared that it had been in its present broken condition for a long time before it became embedded in the position in which it had now been discovered, and the hope therefore of recovering any other portions of the stone was a remote one, though he had requested that further search in the same locality might be directed, and felt sure that Colonel Keatinge and Major Law would make such endeavours as were practicable. He had been unable, he stated, to discover any name either of a king or of any place in the fragment of the inscription, and he believed that it contained none. At present, as he had not had leisure to give much attention to it, he would only add that the character of the inscription justified him in assigning to it a date of about the ninth or tenth century. It is clearly several centuries later than the Valabhi copper plates, and belongs therefore to a period respecting which the discovery of any authentic memorials would be very desirable.

The Honourable the President said that he would avail himself of this occasion to state a circumstance which he intended to mention on his return from Rajputana in 1864. During his tour in Rajputana, in company with Dr. Bhau Daji, he noticed on a rock at Eklingji, a town some ten miles north of Oodeypur, an inscription in the old cave character as under :—



“Of the God S'ri Dhanya.” (Fortunate or Good.)

He thought it desirable to put this on record, as he believed that no other inscription in the cave character had been found nearly so far to the north west. It was on a rock on the left hand side on the way from the upper to the lower lake, and so high as to be seen only from the back of an elephant. It was not certain that the letters had been cut into the stone. There was very little inequality on the face of the rock, and from the appearance he was inclined to infer that they had been originally painted over, and that the pigment used had caused unequal wearing away of the rock. The characters indicated an age of about a thousand years at least, and the inscription bore the marks of long exposure and of great age.

The President next laid before the meeting some minute gold coins sent to him, with the following account of their discovery, by Mr. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, Judge of the Small Cause Court at Ahmedabad :—

“ In last April, when I was at Brahmapuri, a town near Pandharpur, the Mamlutdar told me that the Emperor Aurungzebe was 200 years ago encamped at the place, and that gold coins were left on the spot in such abundance that when the first shower of rain falls, these coins show themselves on the ground, and the poor people are always in search of them. Ever since it has been the custom for poor people to search for these coins, and sell them to shroffs at Pandharpur. Upon this information I asked the Mamlutdar to procure some of these coins for me. He has accordingly sent me some found during last rains. They are of two sorts—one is called *Chuli* and the other is called *Dali*. The first is like a *chool* or fire-place, and the other is like *O*, and hence the popular names. I could not get any more information. The coins have some Persian letters on them, but they cannot be made out. A *Chuli* sells for eight annas, and a *Dali* sells for four annas. These are gold coins, and are, as soon as sold, melted by shroffs.

“ Perhaps you are aware of all this, but if there be any novelty in it, I should like to send some of the coins for such use as you may think proper to make of them.”

The President presented two of the coins to the Society, and stated his belief that the explanation offered by the people on the spot was not correct, as the coins seemed not to be Mahomedan but Hindu. They certainly bear no Arabic legend or letters, but some device which seems intended for an animal, and are more like the Huns of Southern India than any Mahomedan coinage. The Society's collection contained no coin nearly so small, and they are perhaps the smallest coins known, as they weigh but two grains each. A more probable hypothesis is that they were the coins of some Hindu dynasty ruling at Brahmapuri, and their occurrence in such large numbers as described may be accounted for on the supposition of a sudden irruption and destruction of the city by the Mahomedans in the 14th or 15th century, or some earlier invader.

The President placed beside them for comparison four silver coins, weighing about four grains each, of very similar type, and bearing Hindu emblems, as specimens of a kind found in considerable numbers at an old tank near Satara.

He also read an extract, as under, from a further communication received by him on the subject from Mr. Gopalrao Hari :—

“ If these coins are old Hindu coins, as you think, I do not know how to account for the facts that the popular idea connects them with the tradition of Aurungzebe's camp at Brahmapuri, on the Bheema, and that the coins are found in that neighbourhood only. It is said that the whole Pergunna of Mungul Vedha, of which the village of Brahmapuri is one, was 1,000 years ago under a king named Mungul, whose capital was Mungal Vedha. There are ancient Shiva temples now, and some are in ruins, and others are supposed to have been destroyed by Adilshah, who used the materials in building a wall round the town. This is the place where the great Sadhoo Damaji was employed as Mamlutdar by the kings of Bedar 500 years ago. His place is yet pointed out. Perhaps the coins were struck by some such ancient King as Mungul.”

“ I shall procure more *Chulis* during this rain, so as to have a sufficient number to enable you to make out the character.”

The President also presented to the Society, on behalf of Captain Watson, Political Assistant in Kathiawar, fifteen small copper coins, on which he remarked that sufficient of the legend remained to enable him to identify them as the coinage of Kumára Gupta, the complete legend being—

“ Parama Bhagavata, Rájádhirájá Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya.”

These coins, he added, were evidently a portion of the same hoard as those sent by the chief of Wallá, and Captain Watson stated that they formed part of a number dug up on the site of the ancient city of Valabhi.

Captain Watson's letter accompanying the coins was as under :—

“ I send you herewith some small copper coins found at Wallá—a tolerably large hoard was dug up on the site of the ancient city of Valabhi. I have got eight besides those I send you, which I have given to two natives of Kathiawar, to see if they can decipher any of the marks. I will send you the eight referred to shortly. Five of those I send are in pretty good preservation for copper coins. The rest have scarcely any marks left to decipher—a crescent or moon is very distinct on some of them. I trust during the rains to be able to procure more, should I do so I will not fail to send you some. I am endeavouring

to interest the Palitana, Wallá, and Bhaonagar authorities on the subject. Should I succeed I have no doubt numerous coins and other ancient remains would be procurable."

The President also read the following note on the Talaja Caves, and letter received from the same gentleman, the latter with a coin of A'trídámá, son of Rudra Sáh, which he had deciphered and returned as requested. The information contained in the letter might, he remarked, be useful in directing the attention of those who might have facilities for investigation to many promising subjects of inquiry.

Note on the Talaja Caves.

The Talaja hill is evidently an extinct volcano, and the whole of the hollow crater is now filled with water. The hill is also remarkable for a number of caves of different sizes all cut out of the solid rock. These caves are of three different kinds. 1st, very large caves, entirely without cells, and apparently simply large halls for large meetings of the cave inhabitants, or possibly places of worship. The 2nd style of cave has interior cells down each side, and the 3rd style of cave is a simple cell. The caves are apparently of Buddhist origin, but there are no remains of any inscriptions from which the probable date can be conjectured.

The principal caves are the Ebhal Mandir, the Mor Meryo, the Khodiar Mátá, the Dekráni Jetanyo, the Havashri Khor, the Bholauni, and the Champeli. Their dimensions are as under :—

	Height.	Length.	Breadth.
Ebhal Mandir.	27 feet	102 feet	100 feet.
Mor Meryo	15 „	36 „	24 „
Khodiar Mátá.	15 „	64 „	60 „
Dekráni Jetanyo.	11 „	21 „	51 „
Havashri Khor	19 „	64 „	63 „
Bholauni.	14 „	37 „	14 „
Champeli	11 „	48 „	15 „

*The Ebhal Mandir has been named from a chieftain of the Walo tribe, who held considerable possessions in Walok, and to whom belonged Talaja. In this cave Ebhal Walo is said to have given in marriage a thousand virgins of Talaja, of the Kayasth caste, but it is not the less of Buddhist origin, as appear to be all the caves on the hill. There is one small cave at the top of the hill with a conical stone

pillar in the middle of it. This pillar is connected with the roof, and is called the Dhan no Koto, or the tower of wealth. If excavations were made in parts of the hill where are caves partly filled up with rubbish, and if these caves were examined by any one well versed in archæology, I have no doubt but that interesting discoveries might be made.

The following is an extract from Captain Watson's second letter :—

“ I have much pleasure in enclosing a small silver coin (of the Sáh dynasty, as far as I can make out), and shall be extremely obliged if you will kindly tell me what is the inscription on it. I have read your interesting article on the ancient dynasties of Gujarat and Kathiawar, and have no doubt but that were an organised series of inquiries set on foot in this province much interesting matter might be brought to light. Excavations might be made at the site of the ancient city of Valabhi, and at Talaja, and on the sites of the ruined cities of brick which are to be found chiefly in the Gheer in the Girnár range of hills. The Somnath temple has doubtless many claims to be carefully examined, and copies made of inscriptions, &c.; and perhaps in all Kathiawar, or for that matter in Gujarat, there is no place which would repay better an intelligent examination than Goomlee, the ruined capital of the Jetwas. The temple of the Naulakha there, so named from its having been reported to have cost that sum in construction, is much in the style of Somnath, but infinitely grander, and in very much better preservation. The ruined palaces and temples of Goomlee are very well worth visiting, and if excavations were made, I have little doubt but that both at Wallá, Talaja, Goomlee, and in the Gheer coins, &c. might be found. The coin I enclose was given me by Colonel Anderson, and he tells me that it came from Mandavi in Kutch. There are inscriptions on black marble (I think) at the gates of Pattan. There is also an inscription at the gate of Rákhengár's palace on the top of the Girnár—besides those on the blocks of stone at the foot of the hill. All these would prove extremely interesting, I doubt not. There are some curious ruins or remains of ancient cities in the Gheer. At one place in the Gheer there are two stone dykes which seem to have been cut out as a defence to the ruined city there. These dykes are some 6 to 9 feet deep, by 6 to 8 feet broad. The ruins are of stone. At another place, aptly called Eetala, the ground is strewn for an acre or more with the fragments of bricks of a ruined city that lies beneath. At Vejalkot also are remains of a brick wall

or gate. In the Girnár also is a rising ground covered with bricks. The Girnár generally abounds in bricks, and would seem to have been built over in the earliest times. The caves in the Sana hill at Talaja and in the Allich range are also curious, all being hewn out of solid rock. I have so much work that I have no leisure to make independent inquiries, but shall always be very happy to assist any one who may come to Kathiawar at any time to visit any of our antiquities."

The President made the following report on nine coins forwarded to the Society by Government, and referred to him for examination:—

Seven out of the nine are coins of Máhmud Sháh, of the Gujarat dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 1459 to 1511. On six of the coins the legend on the obverse is—

"Alsultán Máhmud Sháh,"

and on the reverse—

"Násir Ud-duniya wa ud-din abu'l fatáh."

The coins of this sovereign are not at all rare, and the Society has several, though none of exactly the same type.

The seventh coin of this king differs only with respect to the legend on the obverse, which is—

Máhmud Sháh bin
Muhammad Sháh."

On two of these coins there are the Hijra dates 875 and 878, which correspond with A.D. 1470 and 1473.

The remaining two must be coins of Kutb Sháh of the same dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 1451 to 1459. The obverse legend is—

"Kutb-ud-din walad A'hmud Sháh bin Sultán,"

and the reading on the reverse seems to be—

"Háfazhu Allah Amir ul-Momnin Khulidat Khaláfati-hu."

("May God protect him. The Commander of the Faithful.
May his Khalifat endure.")

The word 'bin' on the obverse is inexplicable, but I see no other permissible reading.

Report by the President on 42 ancient coins found at Wurthul, in the Muhoonda district of the Kaira Collectorate, and forwarded to the Society by T. H. Stewart, Esq.:—

These are all specimens of the coinage to which I have already made reference in describing the coins sent from Kathiawar, as immediately derived from the Sassanians, and having on the obverse the king's head, and on the reverse the fire altar and priests. The type is about intermediate between the best and the worst executed kinds found in Gujarat. I notice that these were found near Muhoonda, and so many coins of this and of the Sáh dynasty have been discovered at Muhoonda itself, that it must evidently have been a place of much importance during the first six or eight centuries of our era.

The President further laid before the meeting unique specimens of the coins of Svámí Chashtana (who is mentioned in the rock inscription at Girnár) and of Nahapána (whose name occurs in the cave inscription at Násik and elsewhere), remarking on the importance of the evidence which these coins afford of the close connection of both sovereigns, and especially the former, with the dynasty of the Sáh's, and pointing out that although the Sáh series is now traced up to names which one would be inclined to set down with much confidence as Parthian, the type of these highest coins of the series as well as of the later Sáh coinage bears much less close resemblance to the coinage of the Parthians than to that of the Bactrian Greeks. The President referred to the several cave inscriptions at Násik, Kárlen, and Junir, in which Nahapána is mentioned; to the circumstance shown by these inscriptions that the daughter and son-in-law of this foreigner bore Hindu names, and to the great extent of the territory over which it is demonstrated that Nahapána maintained a firmly-established and apparently a prolonged rule. The President said that he was waiting yet a while in the hope of further discoveries to supply the little that is now wanting, before fully describing these and several other unique coins of the series, and bringing up our knowledge in this department of inquiry to the advanced point which has now been reached. Meantime, he remarked, the place to be assigned to Svámí Chashtana is at the head of the dynasty of the Sáh's, while Nahapána's coin supplies the connecting link between the coinage of the Sáh's and that of either Parthia or Bactria, the evidence pointing decidedly to the latter.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*, moved that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the Honourable the President for

the luminous and interesting communication which he had laid before the Society, founded on the coins in his own possession, and which had been forwarded to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Keatinge, to whom the warm acknowledgments of the Society were also due. It was of importance, he added, to note the extent to which the former findings of Mr. Newton had been confirmed by the inspection of the coins which had been just reviewed, and to mark the interest of the two oldest of the coins in his possession, which, from their bilingual inscriptions, as well as from their form, appeared to be rather of the Bactrian than the Parthian type. These coins proved that the Bactrian power had extended to Sauráshtrá or the peninsula of Gujarat. As they were good imitations of the Grecian art, it was not very likely that our researches in the coinage of Western India would be carried much beyond them, more especially as the Punch coins (which are of a more remote antiquity) have no marks upon them of a definite chronological import.

Dr. Wilson also moved that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the Ráwal Shri Jasmatsingh Gohil, K.C.S.I., of Bhawanagar; to the Jám Shri Vibhaji of Nawanganar; to the Thákur Sahebs of Morvi, Wadwán, Wala, and Jhasdan; and to Jamadár Bhaudin, the Senapati of Junágadh, for their consideration and kindness in sending their collection of ancient coins for inspection and comparison with other coins of the series to which they belong. In doing this, he expressed the hope that the example of these chiefs would be followed by others resident in Káthiáwar, which in an antiquarian point of view was the most remarkable province in Western India.

With regard to the communication of Captain Watson on the Caves of Talaja, Doctor Wilson proposed, too, that it should be thankfully acknowledged. For the purpose of comparison with it, he read the brief account of these caves in the 13th No. of the Journal of the Society. The most interesting fact connected with them was that they contained no figures or images, which had been shown to be quite foreign to primitive Buddhism. In the number of the Society's Journal for January 1853 there was a long list of caves in Kathiawar which had not yet been described, and to which the attention of Captain Watson and other officers in Kathiawar might be directed.

Mr. Bhau Daji, in seconding the resolution, observed that Kathiawar, above most other provinces of India, was a most promising field

for exploration and research. It contains the oldest inscriptions. Those of Rudra Dámá near Junagadh have been revised and published in our journal. The Asoka Girnár inscriptions stand in need of further examination. There are caves in the Gir, and other remains, still to be described, whilst Girnár, Somnáth, and Valabhi require further elucidation.

The tribes which people Kathiawar are most interesting in an historical and ethnological point of view, and no province offers greater variety. We have there, in addition to Arians common to other provinces of India, the descendants of Scythians, Parthians, Persians, Beloochees, Yaudheyas, Jews, Circassians, Georgians, Arabs, Abyssinians, and other African tribes, together with those of Coles, Bhils, Ahiras, and Gurjaras. The origin of the last is supposed by the Rev. Doctor Glasgow to be from Kurdistan, or Georgia, the natives of which are called Gurji. The manners and customs and vocabulary of the Kattis alone would furnish abundant material for a volume. The Gurjaras or Gurjas are, I believe, descendants of the people of that name who are found in the Panjab, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Mathura, and Hardwár.

Gujarat derives its name from Gurjara ratra, *i. e.*, the country protected by Gurjara Chiefs, and not from Gujarashtra, the country of the Gurjaras, as commonly stated. This name was applied to the country about the 8th century, from the establishment of the Cháwra or Chápotkata dynasty by Wana Rájá, who, I believe, was a Gurjara chief.

From the study of a large and select collection of the coins of Saurashtra or Káthiawár in my own possession, I am glad to be enabled to confirm nearly all the results arrived at by our learned President. The discovery of the coins of Nahapána and Chashtana is most important. Nahapána I have already pronounced to be the King himself, and not a Satrap of Phraohates, as Doctor Stevenson supposed; and I believe the S'aka or Salivahana era now prevalent in most parts of India and conterminous Eastern countries, is dated from this King. He is called Kshaharata or Khagarata in the inscriptions, and the name may still be detached in the modern Khengar. Chastana I have identified with "Tiastanus," King of "Ozene," *i. e.* Ujjayini, mentioned by Ptolemy—Chastana and his successors appear from this and the Rudra Dámá inscription to have ruled over Málwa and Káthiawár. In the time of Rudra Dámá their power was extended over other pro-

vinces. Gotamiputra Satkarni of the Deccan appears to have been his contemporary and rival.

Ptolemy also enables us to find out that Siri Padumavi, King of Paithan on the Godavari, was a contemporary of Chastana. From the Rudra Dámá inscription I had shown that Chastana was the grandfather of Rudra Dámá, and not the father as Prinsep supposed. The discovery of the coin of Jayadámá, the father of Rudra Dámá and the son of Chastana, by the learned President, and of the inscription at Jasdan translated by me, giving the same fact, confirms my reading completely. I have now two copper coins of Jayadámá, and the name may also be read in a Sauráshtran coin published in Wilson's *Ariana Antiquæ*, pl. XV., No 14.

I am now able to read the numerals on the coins without doubt, and the result mostly confirms the arrangement of the coins made on other grounds by our learned President. In some cases the order of succession will have to be altered.

The dates are as follows:—

1 Svamí Chastana; 2 R. K. S. Jayadámá; 3 R. M. K. Rudra Dámá, son of No. 2; 4 R. M. K. Rudra Sinha, son of No. 3, dated 102, 104, 105, 114; 5 R. M. K. Sri Sena, son of No. 4, dated 128; 6 R. M. K. Rudra Sena, son of No. 4, dated 132—138; 7 R. M. K. Sangha Dámá, son of No. 4, dated 14; 8 R. M. K. Dámá Jata Sri, son of No. 6, dated 154; 9 R. M. K. Dámá Sena, son of No. 7, dated 158; 10 R. M. K. Yasha Dámá, son of No. 9, dated 15; 11 R. K. Vir Dámá, son of No. 9, dated 164; R. M. K. Vijaya Sena, son of No. 9, dated 168, 172; 13 R. M. K. Dámá Jata Sri, son of No. 9, dated 178; 14 R. M. K. Rudra Sena, son of No. 11, dated 188, 198; 15 R. K. Viswa Sinha, son of No. 14, dated 188, 200; 16 R. K. Atrí Dámá, son of No. 14, dated 210, 214; 17 R. K. Rudra Sena, son of Svamí Jina Dámá, dated 230; 18 R. K. Viswa Sena, son of No. 16, dated 217, 225; 19 R. K. Asha Dámá, son of No. 17, dated 23, 238, 240; 20 R. M. K. Rudra Sena, son of R. M. K. S. Rudra Dámá, dated 292, 298; 20, Svamí Rudra Sena, son of Svamí Satya Sena; 21 R. M. K. Jiwa Dámá, son of R. M. K.—Shriya.

It is evident from this list that we have still to discover several names, so as to fill up the gap between No. 17 and 18 by one or two, and that between No. 19 and 20 by four or five. The last two names given by me make up two of these, although from want of more specimens I am unable to find out their dates, and consequently their

true-place in the list. The average duration of reign is short, owing in many instances to the succession of brothers.

In some of these names, I have substituted *sena* for *sah*, as I believe *sena* is the correct reading.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 10th October 1867, Mr. James Taylor, Officiating Honorary Secretary, read the following letter :—

“ TO THE SECRETARY BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to thank you for your kind letter of 24th July, conveying to me the gratifying intelligence of the honour that has been conferred on me by the Society, in adding my name to the list of its Honorary Members, and of the cordial way in which the proposition was received by the Meeting. To the Honourable the President and the Members I beg you will offer my warmest thanks. I have also to beg that you will express to the Honourable the President and the Committee of Management the pleasure it always gave me to aid the Society in its Museum and the other objects embraced in its views, and I hope I shall never lose the lively interest that I now feel in the Society and in its purposes. With best thanks for the good wishes with which your letter concludes, I remain, &c.,

A. H. LEITH.

24th August 1867.”

Mr. Bhau Daji, Honorary Member R. A. S., read a paper on a Scythian invasion of India about 60 years before Christ.

After the reading of the paper the Honourable the President, Mr. Justice Newton, remarked on the interest attaching to it, especially in connection with the source from which it had been derived. The Scythians referred to, he observed, were one of those hordes which from time to time poured out of Central Asia, and were first heard of as a distinct body about the shores of the Caspian. They advanced southwards to Bactria and there came in contact with the Bactrian and Parthian monarchies about a century and a half before the commencement of the Christian era. We have notices of them for a time in connection with these nations in the writings of the classical historians, especially of Strabo, and are able to trace their progress until they approached the Indus. Here they probably consisted of two chief divisions, the *Sacæ* from whom the Hindoo writers have given the name of *Saka* to the whole

body, and the Yuti or Yuchi of the Chinese accounts—the Getæ and Massagetæ of the classical writers—whose name, as Professor Wilson has pointed out, probably survives in the Jits or Jats of Western Hindustan. The evidence of their rule remains chiefly in the vast number of their coins scattered over an extensive region from Kabul to the Punjáb, and the President laid before the meeting one of much interest as showing in well cut Greek letters the name of the goddess Nanæa, whose temple at Elymais is mentioned in the 2nd book of the Maccabees as the scene of the death of Antiochus. They probably commenced their migration with but a scanty religious system of their own, and for this reason perhaps manifested a remarkable readiness to adopt those which they encountered in their journeyings. In their advance southwards they must have adopted the worship of Nanæa, and we find them subsequently continuing the worship of Siva. Eventually a portion at least of them appears to have become Buddhists, and this circumstance had caused the President to hope for valuable results in this department of research from an examination of the ancient documents of the Jains, hitherto so little explored and in great measure probably as yet inaccessible except to native students. He regretted to find that Mr. Bhau Daji, to whose labours the society was so much indebted, and to whom alone it must for some time look for the prosecution of inquiries in this direction, had as yet met with so little to encourage him in this new field of investigation, but trusted that he would still carry on the inquiry on which he had entered. After the subjugation of Bactria by the Scythians we have, he remarked, no further information respecting them than that supplied by their coins, by meagre notices of Ptolemy, and the author of the Periplus, and by the accounts of the Chinese, which, in consequence of the difference of the names it is not easy to make use of. But for the coins themselves therefore we should not have known the name of even one of these Scythian monarchs, though their rule extended over so considerable a territory for some two or three centuries, and resulted in a currency of such enormous extent that Professor Wilson describes it as obviating the necessity of any other copper coinage in Northern India until the date of the Mahomedan invasion. The President pointed out one portion of the narrative extracted by Mr. Bhau Daji as itself affording some evidence of its authenticity. The story of the Scythian autocrat's order for the self-destruction of his Satraps, which brings to mind the strangely similar custom existing in Japan, could

not have been suggested to the Hindoo narrator by any of his own institutions, least of all by anything in his own immediate surroundings in the days when Buddhism or Jainism prevailed, and may therefore be reasonably looked on as indicative of the existence of some such practice as that alluded to among his Scythian neighbours or conquerors. He concluded by offering to Mr. Bhau Daji the acknowledgments of the meeting for his interesting paper.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

MONDAY, 25TH NOVEMBER 1867.

The *Officiating Honorary Secretary*, at the request of the Honourable the *President*, then read the

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1866-67.

Members.—During the past year 40 resident and 14 non-resident members were elected against 64 resident and 7 non-resident elected in 1865-66. Ten members have withdrawn and five died in the past year, leaving 185 resident and 61 non-resident, or in all 341 on the Society's roll. Of these 95 are in England or non-paying. On the last anniversary we had 211 resident and 41 non-resident members, or in all 330 members on the Society's roll. Of these 67 were in England.

Library.—During the year 624 works in 956 volumes were bought by the Society, against 671 works in 1,155 volumes bought in 1865-66.

Periodicals.—The periodicals taken by the Society are as follows :—

Literary 6 ; *Illustrated* 6 ; *Scientific* 31 ; *Reviews* 8 ; *Newspapers* 11 ; *Medical* 1 ; *Law* 2 ; *Registers, Army Lists, and Directories* 18 ; *French* 9 ; *American* 5 ; *German* 4 ; *American Newspaper* 1 ; *Indian Newspapers* 18 ; *Indian Calendars and Army Lists* 7 ; *Indian Journals and Reviews* 15 ; *Batavian* 3. Being a total of 108 Scientific and Literary periodicals and 36 newspapers, or altogether 144 periodicals, of which 39 are given in return for the Society's Journal.

Presents to the Library.—50 Miscellaneous Works in 76 volumes and 60 pamphlets were presented to the Society during the year, and chiefly by the Government of Bombay ; the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court of Judicature of Bombay ; the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India, through the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton ; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington ; the

University of Christiania, Norway ; and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Tabular Statement.—The following table shows the number of works and volumes added to the Library by purchase during the year exclusive of presentations :

Class.	Subjects.	Works.	Vols.
I.	Theology and Ecclesiastical History	55	80
II.	Natural Theology, Metaphysics, &c.,	9	25
III.	Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	12	14
IV.	Classics, Translations, &c.	11	15
V.	Philology, Literary History, &c.	8	9
VI.	History, Historical Memoirs, &c.	30	59
VII.	Politics, Political Economy	41	47
VIII.	Jurisprudence	7	9
IX.	Parliamentary Papers, &c.	55	55
X.	Biography and Personal Narratives	47	64
XI.	Antiquities, Numismatics, &c.	9	11
XII.	Voyages, Travels, &c.	68	103
XIII.	Poetry and Dramatic Works	24	25
XIV.	Novels, Romances, and Tales	69	141
XV.	Miscellaneous Works, &c.	41	70
XVI.	Foreign Literature	3	23
XVII.	Natural Philosophy, &c.	17	19
XVIII.	Fine Arts and Architecture	15	23
XIX.	The Science of War, &c.	5	6
XX.	Natural History, Mineralogy, &c.	21	39
XXI.	Botany, Agriculture, &c.	7	10
XXII.	Medicine, Surgery, &c.	6	10
XXIII.	Physiology, Dietetics, &c.	3	3
XXIV.	Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	47	80
XXV.	Dictionaries, Lexicons, &c.	5	6
XXVI.	Oriental Literature	9	10
Total of Works and Vols....		624	956

Library Catalogues and Rules.—A general alphabetical catalogue of all the works received in 1865-66, and revised rules, were printed early in the year, and issued to the members. A classified catalogue of the same has been printed and just issued to members. The MSS. of both general alphabetical and classified catalogues of the works received during the year are laid on the table, and will be printed and issued to members within three months from this date.

Presents to the Museum.—A number of ancient coins presented by the chiefs in Kathiawar were forwarded by Col. Keatinge, V.C., through the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton; a fragment of an aerolite which fell near Jamkhier, in the Collectorate of Ahmednuggur, and specimens

of iron ore and iron slug found on the banks of the Pariali river were presented by the Government of Bombay ; a specimen of the earliest English rupee coined for Bombay was presented by the Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs ; four silver coins found at Ravere in Khandeish were presented by Captain Probyn through the Honourable B. H. Ellis ; a fragment of an inscribed stone was presented by Major Law through the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton ; one of a series of 178 portraits of Indian sovereigns in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which was brought home by Mr. Cleland from Gujarat about A.D. 1740, was presented by R. R. W. Ellis, Esq. ; and a specimen of Mencubang Penang (Bornean timber) was presented by Messrs. W. Nicol and Co.

Original communications.—Mr. J. Harry Rivett-Carnac gave an interesting lecture on the Scythian Tombs in Central India, to which attention had also been directed by Mr. Brereton, C.E. The Honourable Mr. Justice Newton read his observations on the several presents of ancient coins received through Colonel Keatinge, V.C., from Kathiawar, also notes on the Caves in the Tullaja Hill at Kathiawar by Captain Watson, Political Assistant, both of which, together with a paper read by Dr. Bhau Daji, giving an account of a Scythian invasion of India 60 years before Christ from Jain records, are valuable contributions to the Society's Journal. At one of the meetings of the Society a discussion was also raised as to the adoption of certain measures for the collection and publication of authentic ancient documents elucidatory of Maratha History.

Journal.—No. XXIII. of vol. VIII. of the Society's Journal, illustrated with numerous photographs, was published during the year, and distributed to members. No. XXIV. is in the press, and will be issued to members early next year.

Finance.—The financial state of the society is not altogether satisfactory, owing to arrears of subscriptions having fallen due from members.

Books of Photographs.—Duplicate copies of the photographs of Ahmedabad and Beejapoor, and a copy of photographs of Griffith's Indian scenery were purchased during the year, at an expense of Rs. 700.

Patron of the Society.—On the retirement of Sir Bartle Frere, Patron of the Society, the following resolution was passed :—

“That the best thanks of the Society be offered to His Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., for his distinguished patronage

of, and personal co-operation with the Society" (which was duly communicated to His Excellency); and the Right Honourable Sir W.R. S.V. Fitzgerald was requested by a deputation of the Society to accept the office. His Excellency has been pleased to accede to this request.

Election of Honorary Members.—Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad; Dr. A. Weber, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Berlin; A. H. Leith, Esq., M.D., late of the Bombay Medical Service; and J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Goa and its dependencies, have been elected Honorary Members of the Society.

Forbes Testimonial.—The Society subscribed Rs. 250 to the testimonial in memory of the late Mr. Justice Kinloch Forbes."

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President, moved that the report now read be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the Honourable the President, the members of the Committee, and the other office-bearers for their valuable services during the past year. In doing this he said, that the Society appeared to him to be, on the whole, in a prosperous state, though the temporary financial difficulties of Bombay had had a considerable effect on its income. The deficit in the funds which had occurred would to a certain extent be remedied by an application to defaulters from inadvertency for the payment of their subscriptions; and by the observance of the strictest economy in connection with the Society's establishment and the purchase of new books, avoiding for a season those works which are mere luxuries or curiosities. The Committee had wisely determined in present circumstances to reduce the annual order addressed to the booksellers from seven hundred to five hundred pounds, a sum quite adequate for what may be called the ordinary wants of the Society. Of course there was no proposal made to interfere with the literary and scientific action of the Society. The number of the Journal which had been published during the past year was a valuable one, both in its interesting articles, on Pattan Somnath by the lamented Mr. Kinloch Forbes, and on the village of Muruda by Mr. Mandlik; and in the various incidental notices and discussions given and recorded in its appendix. That now in the press would be found to be no less important. The Society had had its attention lately directed to subjects of inquiry well worthy of prosecution. The Honourable the President had nearly connected his research in the

coinage of Saurashtra, or Peninsular Gujarat, with the Bactrian and Parthian dynasties, in imitation of the coinages of which it had originated; and with that, research in that direction must soon cease, leaving however, the punch coins, the most ancient found in India, for a separate treatment. These coins he (Dr. Wilson), in a communication to the Antiquarian Society of the Central Provinces, had attributed to the Scythians in whose tombs, both in Central and Southern India specimens of them had been found during the last sixty years, as by the late ingenious and inquisitive Colonel Colin Mackenzie. As the Cave-Temples and their accompaniments were now well understood, it was very desirable to deal earnestly with these Scythian tombs, great numbers of which had of late years been brought to light, and of which most valuable notices had a few months ago been given to the Society by Mr. Rivett-Carnac and Mr. Brereton, C.E. These tombs had great importance in both a historical and an ethnographical point of view. Some of them most probably carry us back to the times of Cyaxares, when according to Herodotus the Scythians overran the Persian empire, extending to, and probably embracing the north of India, and when they might have easily begun to move to its southern provinces. It is not unlikely that these Scythians were the forefathers of some of the wilder tribes now found in India, as for example the *Gonds*, the word *Gonda* being only a corruption of *Govinda*, cow-keeper, a designation suited to a nomadic pastoral people like the Scythians, allied in language to the Dravidian tribes, as proved by the connexion of the Gondi with the Telagu, Tamil, and other Dravidian languages, which again, are cognate with the Ugrian languages even of Europe, which have a Scythian parentage. Most interesting now were all researches into the forest tribes of India, especially those founded on their languages, which very clearly show that they are by no means so diversified in their origin as is often imagined, belonging as all these languages do to the Aryan, Dravidian (or Scythian), and Sub-Himalayan families. In connection with the Scythians, Dr. Bhau Daji had done good service by bringing to notice some passages, contained in works of the Jainas lately acquired by him, expressly referring to an invasion of the Shakas about the time of the Christian era. It would be well to continue to prosecute research in this direction, for the Jaina literature, though full of the most outrageous legendry, had some valuable historical elements which might be turned to good account, as had in a particular connexion been done by Mr. Kinloch

Forbes in his interesting and valuable work on Gujarat. Of the history of Jainism itself, little was as yet known. In its so-called philosophical principles it is nearly identical with Buddhism, though its ideal grandees, the Tirthakars, were more numerous than the Buddhas. *Jin* "the conqueror," from whom the *Jainas* derive their designation, is a common name of Buddha, as may be seen in the Mahavansho of Ceylon. What such an orientalist as Dr. Weber of Berlin and the Society might be able to do in the direction now indicated would perhaps by and by appear. In the meantime it would be well for it vigorously to follow out its purpose with regard to the collection of the documenta of Maratha history, with which it had most to do. These documents were needful for the confirmation, for future ages, of Grant Duff's work, which though a most veritable work, would doubtless be called in question by the patriotic youth of India, as had lately been witnessed in a reference to the killing of Afzulkhan by Shivaji, which had been attributed to the treachery of the Mahomedan envoy. It was now a most difficult thing here to get hold even of the Maratha Bakhars, or historical Memoirs; but copies of them might be got from the Madras Government Library, where they were deposited by Colonel Mackenzie. The Society should vigorously apply its energies to the illustration of Maratha history, devoting to this work a large portion of the liberal grant obtained from Government. Without further remarks, Dr. Wilson again moved the adoption of the report and thanks to the office-bearers.

The Hon. B. H. Ellis had great pleasure in having to second the motion for the adoption of the report and a vote of thanks to the office-bearers for their services during the past year. After the interesting commentary of the learned mover on the past year's proceedings, it was unnecessary for him (Mr. Ellis) to trouble the meeting to any length. He would, however, express his concurrence in the steps proposed to bring about a proper financial equilibrium, and in reference to this much of the subject he might suggest the issue of short letters to remind members when their subscriptions become due. Such letters would be more effectual than the forms of receipt at present in use, which caused mistakes by leading members to suppose that they had paid when they had not. Another point in which he (Mr. Ellis) wished to express his cordial concurrence in the observations that had fallen from Dr. Wilson was in regard to Maratha History. He might mention that only that very day he had occasion to read

some papers which verified the accuracy of Grant Duff's history. A reference had been made by Government to the officer in charge of the Peishwa's records at Poona to ascertain what were the relations of a neighbouring state with the Peishwa's Government. The papers brought to light from these records substantiated in every particular the narrative of Grant Duff, and he (Mr. Ellis) had no doubt that if the Poona records were regularly looked into with the object of utilising them for historical purposes, much more of great value would be discovered. He would beg to second the motion proposed by Dr. Wilson, which was unanimously adopted.

In conformity with the Society's rules, Art. X. the meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the Committee of Management for the year 1867-68, and the following is the list of office-bearers elected for the year 1867-68 :

President.—The Hon. Mr. Justice Newton, C.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Bhau Daji, Esq., Hon. Member Royal Asiatic Society ; the Hon. Mr. Justice Tucker, C.S. ; the Hon. Sir Richard Couch, Knight ; and Lieut.-General Sir Robert Napier, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

Committee Members.—The Honourable George Foggo ; Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq. ; James Taylor, Esq. ; Surgeon-Major Francis Broughton, F.R.C.S. ; George Bühler, Esq., Ph.D. ; Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik ; Surgeon-Major T. W. Ward, F.R.C.S. ; the Hon. Mr. Justice Warden, C.S. ; W. Loudon, Esq. ; and the Rev. D. Macpherson, M.A.

Auditors.—W. Loudon, Esq., and Venayekrao Jagonnathjee Sunkersett, Esq.

Honorary Secretary.—George C. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.D.

The newspapers and periodicals proposed to be added were then voted one by one ; and the following were sanctioned to be taken by the Society :—

1. The Builder (English).
2. Engineering.

At the conclusion of the proceedings the best thanks of the Society were voted to the Hon. the President, for conducting the business of the anniversary meeting, and the meeting was then adjourned to Thursday the 12th December next.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 12th December 1867, Dr. Birdwood read the following letter :—

“ From BABU RAJENDRALALA MITRA,
Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

To The SECRETARY to the BOMBAY BRANCH of the ROYAL ASIATIC
SOCIETY of Great Britain and Ireland.

*Dated Asiatic Society's Rooms,
Calcutta, 21st October 1867.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to forward herewith 400 copies of a Key to Professor Wilson's system of Transliteration, and to request the co-operation of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in securing the adoption, by its members, of a uniform system of Romanizing Indian words according to it in all literary and scientific papers.

2. The scheme recommended has many advantages. It is founded on the English alphabet, is remarkable for its simplicity and precision, and having extensive currency among Oriental scholars in Europe, is more likely to be generally approved in this country than any other. Objections no doubt may be raised on several points in it, but in the absence of a system absolutely correct the Council are of opinion that they should be removed by authority and mutual agreement.

I have, &c.

RAJENDRALALA MITRA,
Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.”

Mr. Bhau Daji, Honorary Member Royal Asiatic Society, read a paper on Merutunga's Theravali.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th February 1868 :—

The Honourable the President, Mr. Justice Newton, laid before the Society some records of the families of the Daphale Chief of Jat and Karajgi, the Honourable the Pant Pratiniddhi of Sattara, and the Nimbhalkar of Phaltan. In presenting these records, which the several Chiefs had obligingly prepared and furnished at his request, he expressed his regret that they were little more—the two first especially—than bare statements of events immediately affecting the respective families, and that the result should as in the case of his previous endeavours to

secure original and trustworthy authorities for Marathi history, have been comparatively disappointing. He hoped that some family chronicles respecting which he had received information, might be obtained from the records of the late Rajah of Sattara, and he had traced to the Poona Dufter another family history which the Superintendent had kindly promised to send to him that a copy might be made for the Society. He was sorry that in other respects the report as to the Poona Dufter was not such as to encourage much hope that its contents would be made available for the promotion of the objects of the Society until their importance should attract the attention of some student of Indian history, possessed of the necessary leisure and qualifications for examining and arranging the scattered materials.

The President also presented to the Society on behalf of A. H. Spry, Esq., Civil Service, twelve old coins, which had been found at different times in a single compound at Khaira. In laying them on the table with a descriptive note, he remarked on them as affording an interesting illustration of the valuable help furnished to historical research by evidence of this character. Small as the series was, it supplied indeed a history in epitome—and a history to be implicitly relied on—of almost all the dynastic changes of which Guzerat has been the scene since the commencement of the Christian era. These coins gave their silent testimony to the existence of every line of Sovereigns who had coined money near the site of their discovery from the earliest until very recent times, and thus bore witness to the rise and fall and usually to the order of succession of nearly all the monarchies of note that have ruled over Guzerat and Surashtra during some sixteen or eighteen centuries. The dynasty of the Sâhs is represented by two coins, one being of an early and one of a late king in the series, two are coins of Kumâra Gupta, four of the line of Valabhi, one of the Indo-Sassanian "Gadhias," and two of families whose rule still marks the conquest of the country by the Mahomedans. The President further noticed the difficulty of accounting for the discovery of the coins of these several dynasties so frequently and so generally distributed in certain localities. He was aware of several places in which a certain amount of labour expended in excavation and search would ordinarily result in the discovery of a certain number of these coins, and among the number thus found there were usually specimens of the coinages of dynasties extending over several centuries, provided that the site of the search was within the territory held by the successive series of rulers. He

could offer no better explanation of this circumstance than the supposition that the different coinages must have been numerically very large, and that the coins, being exclusively of the smallest size—the hemidrachm or a near approach to it—were very frequently lost as well by ordinary accidents as by the tumults and disorders which may be inferred to have occasionally prevailed. The limits of the sovereignty of each important dynasty might, he observed, be approximately determined by observation of the area over which its coins were found dispersed in the manner described, for their circulation in the locality during many years was an hypothesis essential to account for their occurrence under such circumstances.

The Honourable the President then read a translation of the *Ratna Málá*, by the late Mr. Kinloch Forbes. Before reading it he stated that having desired to examine the manuscripts and papers of Mr. Forbes with the view of taking advantage of some of them for the purposes of the Forbes Gujarati Sabhá, he had lately been supplied with the whole through the kindness of Mrs. Forbes and Mr. T. C. Hope. Among them he had found much of the materials from which the *Rás Málá* had been constructed, and specially translations of two of the three chief poems made use of in that work—the *Prabandh Chintámaní* and the *Ratna Málá*—with an abstract of the third, the *Dvayashraya*. There was much beside of great interest, though chiefly in the form of abstracts and notes. Permission had been most cordially granted to him to enrich the Society's Journal with such of these remains as might be found appropriate, and he had selected the translation of the *Ratna Málá* as a first instalment. He had chosen this work not because it was the larger or more important, for in this respect, it must yield to the *Prabandh Chintámaní*, but because it is the earlier in date, and seems very suitable for introducing to the Society the whole class of the bardic poems of Gujarat. It is certainly marked by many beauties of figure and simile and expression, and we must not quarrel with it if in some matters of taste, as for instance, the propriety of the poet's lengthened and extravagant laudation of himself and his achievement, there is a divergence here and there from the European standard. The translation of the *Prabandh Chintámaní* he hoped to read to the Society at another meeting; whether the abstract of the *Dvayashraya* was in a state which would render its publication desirable he had not yet sufficiently examined it to determine.

The Ratna Málá was the earliest of the three works which Mr. Forbes designates as his "principal guides" in unravelling the tangled story of Surashtra from the sixth or seventh century of our era, and all that has been ascertained as to its origin may be best related in his words:—

"Of Krishnaje, the Brahmin, author of the Ratna Málá, nothing is known. He wrote subsequently to the death of Bheem Dev II., but probably not long after that event, and his work is founded on the labours of preceding authors."

"As a man churns curds and extracts the clarified butter, throwing the butter-milk away ;

"As a man squeezes sugarcane and extracts the juice without preserving anything else ;

"As a man extracts gold from dust, and throws the dust aside ;

"As a man separates grain from the husk, or takes oil from Sesamum ;

"So, examining all books, good compositions and true ;

"This book, Ratna Málá, the writer has composed."

"As a man who has bathed in the ocean has performed all pilgrimages ;

"As a man who has tasted ambrosia requires no longer any other food ;

"As a man who possesses the philosopher's stone is the owner of all wealth ;

"So that man has read all books who has studied the Ratna Málá ;

"He whose research is infinite but who has not read the Ratna Málá is like a marble reservoir which is destitute of water, or a splendid temple which wants a spire."

The Necklace (Ratna Málá = necklace of jewels) is said originally, the President remarked, to have consisted of one hundred and eight jewels, of which eight only now remain. It is evident from the programme stated in the second and third "jewels" or cantos, as also from the abrupt termination of the eighth at the death of the first hero of the race whose praises the poet sings, that we have but the commencement of what was written or of what the bard proposed to himself as the subject of his verse. The scene of what survives is

chiefly at Panchásar near the Run of Cutch, and the theme is the subjugation of its King Jayashikhari of the Chaura or Chápotkata race by Bhuvad the Chálukya of Kalyán described as near Kanyakubja from which we now get the name Canouje. The initial date as given in a line of the poem is 753 of Vikramáditya or 696 A.D. The language is the Bhasha, a dialect of the Prakrit which has been so little studied that it may be questioned whether the translator, qualified though he was as almost none besides, would have found the satisfactory completion of his undertaking possible without the help of his talented coadjutor, Mr. Dalpatráam Dayabhái, whom he mentions in his preface to the *Ras Málá* as almost constantly by his side during his enquiries preparatory to that work. The text of the *Ratna Málá* would, the President hoped, be published at no distant date by the Society for the promotion of Gujarati literature, of which the late Mr. Forbes had been President, and which had now been named after him by the native gentlemen to whom jointly with Mr. Forbes belonged entirely the credit of having initiated that important movement. He might properly mention that that Society had now ready for the press the first volume of a translation into Gujarati of the *Ras Málá* and also the text of the *Prabandh Chintámaní* which his able colleague, Mr. Bhau Daji, had collated and would edit for the Society.

Of Mr. Forbes's rendering of the *Ratna Málá* the President might remark that, though he laid it before the Society exactly as he found it, and it had the appearance of having been written off without any revision, very few translations would be found to convey in a higher degree the style and spirit and peculiar character of the original. The translator had brought to his task not only eminent abilities, varied acquirements, and a cultivated taste, but also an enthusiastic interest in his subject, and the result of his labours was a singular closeness of rendering combined with an ease and freedom rarely preserved in so exact a translation. The author of the *Ras Málá* had certainly made the fullest use of this as well as the other poems above mentioned, but it was not on that account the less important that the works themselves should be rendered accessible by the publication of translations and of the original text. They are the authorities from which chiefly must be filled in the history of Kathiawar and the surrounding countries during a few dark but interesting centuries, and though it may be regretted that the materials on which we depend are not more reliable, and that as regards details poetry has often prevailed over actual facts,

some of the writers are entitled to our grateful acknowledgements for a valuable succession of names and probably of dates, and for a generally correct narrative of more important incidents, as well as apparently for vigorous and pointed criticism, personal description, and delineation of character. And whatever may be the value attached to these narratives as records and memorials of events, it is to be borne in mind that their imagery, their modes of thought, and their motives of action—and that they truthfully reflect these there can be no question—are those of a time and a condition of things which have passed away not to return, and of a people whose character, in many respects remarkable and fascinating, has thrown around them a very special interest among the diversified tribes of this great continent.

Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik,—I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to our President, the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, for the luminous exposition with which he has favoured us to-day, of the excellent translation of the “*Ratna Málá*,” left by the late Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes. It is not merely for the historical information which it gives that this work is valuable, but also for the light it throws on the manners and customs of the people whose deeds it professes to narrate. The life-like picture of the good and bad omens, the auspicious and inauspicious signs which are supposed to foretell the events that are to befall us, is applicable to many parts of India at the present day. Even in Bombay at least fifty out of every hundred persons, belonging to the native community, would still consider these omens in the same light as they were by the bard who composed the “*Ratna Málá*.” The sight of a widow, of a man without a mark on his forehead, of a cat, of a crow, of the blue jay, and similar natural objects, is still considered by the ignorant, as inauspicious. These facts might be put in notes when such works are sent to the press. They would be very valuable to outsiders in judging of the inner life of the people of this country. The memoirs of the Pant Pratinidhi and the Chiefs of Jat and Phaltan, which were submitted by the Honourable President to-day, are valuable so far as they go. But it would be desirable, however, to get hold of the literary and miscellaneous portion of the Poona Duster, which is lying useless, and can be turned to some account by the Society. Some years ago a project was suggested by the late Mr. Howard, but which unfortunately fell through. The strictly political papers might be easily separated and the rest might, with great advantage, be made over to this Society. Unfortunately

neither Dr. Wilson nor Dr. Bhau Daji is present here to-day, but in their absence I have much pleasure in moving—"That the best thanks of the Society are due to the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton for his luminous exposition of the late Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes' able and interesting translation of the *Ratna Mālā*."

The Honourable the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Couch, Knight, seconded the motion, and it was unanimously carried.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 12th March 1868, the *Honorary Secretary* read the following letter from James Taylor, Esq., to the address of the Committee of Management of the B. B. R. A. Society :—

"GENTLEMEN,—Dr. Birdwood, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, having again returned to Bombay, I have to inform you that I have resigned from this date the office of officiating Honorary Secretary to which you did me the honour to appoint me in January last, and with my acknowledgements for your indulgent support during the period I held the appointment.

I have, &c.,

JAMES TAYLOR,

Offg. Hon. Secy. B. B. R. A. S.

Town Hall, Bombay, 24th December 1867."

Resolved unanimously :—"That the Society's warm acknowledgements be offered to Mr. James Taylor for the benefit of his valuable services, and for the zeal and efficiency with which, at the expense of much time and labour, he has discharged the duties of officiating Honorary Secretary."

The Honourable the President in returning the coins forwarded to the Society by Government in January and February last, and submitted to him for report, said that the 21 specimens called korees in the Government letter, were from the mint of the Indo-Sassanian dynasty, which obtained a footing in Katiawar, Gujarat, and some parts of the Deccan, at a date and during an interval not yet determined, but probably extending over the greater part of the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. In reply to the question asked by Government as to the

value of these coins, he might say that they were so common and of so debased a type, the original devices of the king's bust and fire-altar being quite beyond the recognition of any who had not made a study of them, that he could not estimate them at more than the value of the silver in them. The other fifty-nine coins are of a kind not so frequently met with, and of greater interest. They are specimens of the indigenous punched coinage bearing the usual Buddhist emblems separately stamped on them, as the sun and moon and the pyramid of the Sáh coins, and must be looked on as illustrations of a Hindoo currency originating before intercourse with the western nations through Bactria and Parthia led to the introduction of a more artistic type. The thanks of the Society were due to Government for these coins, and as it appeared that they were but portions of hoards which had been discovered, he suggested that Government might with propriety be requested to allow the Society to examine the whole of any such hoards, before the remainder were disposed of, and also that if such coins as might not be retained or presented to this or other Societies, were offered for sale in Bombay rather than at outstations, persons interested in antiquarian researches would have an opportunity of rescuing many from the melting pot.

The President laid a few other ancient coins on the table for inspection. He had, he remarked, had the pleasure of proposing to the meeting for election a gentleman, now employed in Kathiawar, Captain Watson, from whom he believed the Society might expect to receive interesting communications and assistance in that which should be remembered by all its members as its chief object—the collection of information respecting the past history of Western India, and the elucidation and illustration of its ancient remains. Captain Watson had sent him these and other coins for decipherment, and though they were for the present to be returned, the President was assured that the Society would have been presented with duplicates of any, had there been such, of which its collection stood in need. They were all, however, common coins of the Sáh's, Kumára Gupta, and the Gudeea kings, with the exception of a single copper coin with a lion on the obverse, and on the reverse illegible portions of a few letters in the old Cave character. It might be hoped that legible specimens of this coin would be discovered, and add somewhat to our knowledge. The President would place on record in the Proceedings of the Society extracts which he read from letters which he had lately received from Captain

Watson, as they contained descriptions of some interesting localities in Kathiawar, and indicated several subjects on which further investigation was very desirable. The Geographical Society, equally with themselves, would no doubt make note of the additional evidence as to the change in the relative level of the sea and land in certain parts of Kathiawar, furnished by the fact that the old tracks of the cart wheels worn in the solid rock on the road which once provided communication between Sinhlingpoor to Jafarabad, and between Sinhlingpoor and Mhowa, now run right into the sea; and with respect to Captain Watson's remark that the remains of Valabhi would seem to justify the assigning of a longer existence to that city than 205 years, the President might note that he had inferred a period of some two centuries for the duration of the dynasty which we may specially associate with Valabhi—that is the dynasty of the Valabhi copper-plates and of the Bhattāraka coins—but that the city itself may have been the foremost or one of the foremost in Kathiawar from a much earlier period, and may indeed with probability be supposed to have been the head-quarters of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, or of their lieutenants, while Kathiawar was a province of their Empire before the rise of the so-called Valabhi line of kings. The President would also add in reply to a question which others as well as Captain Watson might ask, that the succession of the Sáh kings is not yet quite complete, that he hoped shortly to lay before the Society some additions to the number of the series, but that the discovery of two or three more near the commencement of the dynasty might still be looked for, and that there was perhaps a break later in the line to be filled in by two or three names.

The following are the extracts from Captain Watson's letters read by the President :—

(First Extract, February 17th, 1868.)

The Southern Coast of Kathiawar abounds in legends of the Chowras, and in a recent visit I paid to the neighbourhood of Mhowa, I naturally looked out for any legends of this ancient tribe, which I imagine to be of foreign extraction. You can fancy my delight at finding the remains of the ancient city of Kunukavatee, the modern Kutpoor, and to find it attributed to Kunuksen Chowra—the great progenitor of the Chowra race. The remains are of brick, and much resemble those of Wulleh. The legend tells how Kunukavatee was laid waste by a

marvellous encroachment of the sea on the land, the same doubtless that separated Perim, the Sheel Bate, &c., &c., from the mainland, and is day by day exposing more and more of the walls of Kunukavatee by gradual encroachments on the land. At Sheel Bate the ruins are extremely ancient and grand. There are numerous wells, tanks, &c., latterly several marble images appertaining to Jain Temples were dug up—one bears date St. 1272, and allusion is made to a Raja Runsingjee. The fortifications which are, or rather were, very strong, strike me as of Portuguese origin. The city of Sinhlingpoor, of which these are the ruins, is said to have covered a large extent of land, and was in the days of its prosperity connected with the mainland, but the encroachments of the sea have now separated it from the mainland and it has become an island. The Kurreria Sipahis who held sway at Mhowa for a short time, appeared to have ruled here for a short time also. The remains of the prison of Râ Kowâd of Joonagurh and 35 other Rajpoot princes is still shown at Sheel Bate. They were rescued by Walo Oogojee, the Chief of Valabhi, so says the legend. After the destruction of Valabhi, the Vala Gadee was removed to Bhadroar, and many marriages took place between the Yadur Ras and the Walas of Bhadroar at Sheel Bate. They also show the Chula or cart track from Sinhlingpoor to Jaffrabad, and Sinhlingpoor to Mhowa, worn in the solid rock. They lead right into the sea, showing plainly how the sea has advanced. In those days it is said the Buynsla Rock was connected with Sinhlingpoor. The Chowras are reputed to have reigned here also. But the remains of Sinhlingpoor are all of stone, the Jain images being of marble, whereas the remains of Kunukavatee are of brick. Amongst other places I visited the Sana Caves. Here are also the remains of ancient brick buildings. The caves are more elaborate than those of Tullaja. There are 3 Chaitya caves, one with a Deh-gop in very good preservation, but wanting the Tee. There are 62 caves altogether, of every variety. The peculiarity in the Chaitya caves is that the roof is not arched or intended for woodwork, but flat and cut out of the solid rock. If you can tell me whose these coins are, it will of course throw great light on the ancient sovereigns of Kunukavatee, Sinhlingpoor, and Valabhi. Sinhlingpoor enjoys a fabulous antiquity according to local legend. One thing has always struck me, viz., that the ancient brick remains at Wulleh, Joonagurh, Toolseesham, and other places in the Gheer, and Kutpoor, &c. must be attributed to the same race.

(Second Extract, February 28th, 1868.)

The Sâhs you give in your ancient dynasties of Kutch and Kathiawar, but I do not quite gather from that work whether you assume the list of Sâhs to be complete, or whether there are any links to be supplied anywhere. The Bhattarakas must, I think, be the ancestors of the Wala clan of Rajpoots, and though their (the Wala) seat was latterly at Bhadroar, they are always supposed by tradition to have reigned at Wulleh and Tullaja. Now the Vallas still exist in Saurashtra, but what has become of the Chowras who reigned at Deer Punchasur, Somnath, Dwarka, and Kunukavatee, and for so long furnished sovereigns for the Unhilwarra Gadce? One account has it that the Chowras, after conquering Walak, took the name of Wala, but this does not seem probable, as it would seem that Walakhetra or Walok was named after the Walas. The Asiatic Society would confer a great boon on all Government officers in Guzerat by publishing Forbes' translation of the Ratna Málá, and by having translations made of the Wun Raj Charitra, Koomar Pal Charitra, &c. and publishing them, also by publishing a reprint of Tod's Rajasthan. The Chowras do not seem to have left a trace behind them. The ancient city in the Sheel Bate is not, I imagine, half as ancient as the brick remains that cover the southern portion of Kathiawar.

(Third Extract, March 4th, 1868.)

In your interesting memoir on the ancient Dynasties of Kathiawar and Guzerat, I observe that you allow the Valabhi Dynasty only from A. D. 319 to A. D. 524. Surely this famous city and line must have flourished more than 205 years: but perhaps you may consider the Valabhi era to date from the accession of a particular line of princes, and not from the foundation of the city, whose ruins or other remains would certainly lead one to imagine that it must have been a seat of power for several centuries.

The calamity that laid Wulleh waste can certainly not I think have been an earthquake, drifting sand, &c. as the few mutilated bulls, &c. that are found are all above the surface, and there are scarcely any places, indeed I think there are none whatever where by digging one comes on aught but brick foundation walls, thus showing that the level is generally very much what it was, plus an accumulation of a foot or two or more of sand which would have occurred in any site almost.

The materials were doubtless taken away and built into the new towns and cities that sprung up after the fall of Wulleh. But excavation at Wulleh on a large scale (and under a skilled archæologist) in 3 or 4 different places, would without doubt explain many points regarding this famous city which would be of the deepest interest. *

At present the coolies excavate in places to dig up the bricks. When at Wulleh some time ago I went to see a place where the coolies were digging, they had come on a broad foundation wall of some 4 feet broad, with small walls about 2 feet broad diverging at regular intervals at right angles. They were carrying away the bricks to build their houses, and if they continue to do so for many years, much injury will be done to the old remains. There can be no doubt that they often dig up not only coins but other articles, but it is impossible to get them to confess it, as they fancy they will be forcibly deprived of them.

In another 10 or 15 days I may be moving southwards, and will endeavour to look up the old Wala capital of Bhadroar, as well as the fortress of Uncha Kotra. I hope soon to receive the ballad about the confinement of Râ Kowâd, &c., in the Sheel Bate. When my camp was at the Sana Hill, the Babria Grassia of Dedan commenced reciting a portion of this ballad. I was obliged to march on next day, or would have copied it out. He promised to send it me, and I have written to him to ask him to do so, and it will, I trust, soon arrive.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 9th April 1868. Proposed by Dr. Birdwood and seconded by Manockjee Cursetjee, Esq., that the best thanks of the Society be voted to Mr. Leith for his valuable and most interesting paper, which, having been put to the vote, was unanimously carried.

Professor F. J. Candy read his observations on a Key to Professor H. H. Wilson's System of Transliteration, for which the best thanks of the Society were voted to him. *

At the Monthly Meeting of the 14th May 1868, Dr. Birdwood, *Honorary Secretary*, read the following Translations of the Inscriptions on two Stones in the Society's Museum, by the Rev. Father Poli, S. J., Parish Priest of the Mazagon Chapel of S. N. D' Rozario.

I

ESTA OBRA SE FES NO REMA-
E DO ANNO DE (1) 635 ...EPRI-
NCIPO DE. 636. SENDO: CAPITA-
O DESTA FORTALEZA D CH-
AVL IOAO DE THOBARDE VE-
LASCO. E SE TOMOV POR PAD-
ROEIRO DESTA CIDE. O GLO-
RIOZO. PE. S. FRANCISCO XA-
VIER. DA COMP^A. DE IESVS.

Literal Translation.

This work was made during (in the lapse of)
the year 1636. . . and at the beginning
of 1636, being captain
of this fortress of *chaul* (.)
Joao de Thobarde Velasco,
and was taken as Patron of this
city the glorious Father
St. Francis Xavier of the Soc.
of Jesus.
(.) At Mahim close the bridge.

II.

CONSACRADA A ETERNIDADE DE IOAM IV. REDE PORTV-
GAL E MASCOTES Q CELEBROV NO ANNO DE 1646.
FES TRIBVTARIO A SI E A SEVS REINOS CO ANNVA
PENCAM A IMMACVLADA CONCEICAM DA VIRGEM
SENHORA E COM PVBLICO IVRAMENTO PROMETEO
DEFENDER Q A MESMA SENHORA ELEITA PADROEIRA D
E SEV IMPERIO FOI PRESERVADA DE TODA A MACVLA D
E PECCADO ORIGINAL FER AQ A PIÉDADE PORTVGE-
ZA VIVESSE MANDOV ABRIR NESTA PEDRA ESTA PER-
PETVAL
EMBRANCA NO I—ANNO DE SEV IMPERIO E NO
DE CHRISTO
1655. FES ESTA OBRA NA ER DE 1656.

Literal Translation.

Sacred to the eternity of John IV. King of Portugal, and of the cortes, which he celebrated

in the year 1646,

made tributary himself and his kingdoms, with annual pension, to the immaculate conception of the Virgin Lady—and with public oath promised to defend that the same Lady elected patroness of his empire has been preserved from any stain of original sin.

In order that the Portuguese piety live (be perpetuated) ordered to carve this memory in the first year of his empire and of Christ 1655. Made this work in the era of 1656.

The best thanks of the Society were voted to Rev. Father Poli, S. J., for his translations of the Inscriptions.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 11th June 1868, the Honourable the President said that he had much gratification in presenting to the Society, on behalf of the Thakur of Wulla, two copper plates which had been discovered in the course of excavations undertaken at the site of the ancient city of Valabhi by this chief. This enlightened research was most commendable, and the President congratulated the Society that the interest of several of the chiefs of Kathiawar was now to so large an extent enlisted in the furtherance of the objects of the Society. From Kathiawar and the surrounding provinces the most important additions to our knowledge in the form of coins and other ancient monuments might be expected; and he trusted soon to see a more general and diligent co-operation with the Society on the part of the several chiefs of those districts. A letter from the Thakur of Wulla described the operations commenced under his directions, and the circumstances under which the copper plates were discovered. The President regretted that they had suffered greatly from chemical decomposition, so that scarcely a letter was visible on one of them, and on the other, only a few detached words remained legible. Mr. Bhau Daji had kindly undertaken the task of preparing a fac-simile and transcript in the Devanāgarī of such portions as were decipherable, and these the President now presented to the Society. The character sufficiently testifies that the plates were the record of a grant by one of the earliest of the Valabhi Kings, and enough remained

to show that the grantor was Dhruva Sena, the date being Samvat 310. The late Mr. Forbes in his *Ras Málá*, gives two traditionary accounts of the destruction of Valabhi; one through the loss of its palladium, a sacred horse, and consequent overthrow by Barbarians, and the other through the wrath of a slighted saint. What the catastrophe was which overwhelmed and entombed this once renowned city was a subject of very interesting inquiry. Captain Watson, in a letter on the Society's records, had stated his conclusion that it was not an earthquake or drifting sand, as some had suggested. It might be hoped that further investigations would clear up this question.

The President also presented to the Society, on behalf of Captain Watson, Political Assistant in Kathiawar, several interesting fragments of stone carving and other ancient remains, lately obtained from the ruins of Valabhi.

In laying before the Society copies of all the legible Arabic and Persian inscriptions at Beejapoor, taken and translated into Marathi by Hossein Saheb Rangee, and presented by A. F. Bellasis, Esq., the President remarked that Beejapoor had already been the subject of three articles; one by Captain Sydenham, in the 13th vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*, one by Captain Sykes in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, and one by Dr. Bird in the *Society's Journal* for May, 1844. In the last of these several of the inscriptions were given with English translations, but a complete collection had been until now a desideratum. The Society was therefore under much obligation to Mr. Bellasis and to Hossein Saheb Rangee for the copies and Marathi versions now sent, and their acknowledgments were due to both these gentlemen.

He also placed before the meeting an interesting old chronicle which had been kept in the Deshpande family at S'ivapur. Having heard that it had been obtained by the Alienation Department from Janoba Deshpande, and was now in the Poona Dufter, he had applied for it to Colonel Etheridge, who had courteously transmitted it to the Society. The President had had time only to turn to a page here and there, in order to ascertain its character, but was enabled to say that in addition to a good deal of mythological narrative, it contained some valuable information which the Society would be glad to have on record. He recommended that a copy of the book should be taken, and stated his opinion that portions of it would probably be found of sufficient inter-

est to be translated at some future time. He commended the book to native members of the Society as a promising subject for an interesting review.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson moved that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the Chief of Vala, for his various and valuable gifts to the Society, and for the kind offer of his continued services in the way of research into the antiquities of that interesting locality. In doing this, he expressed his belief, founded on his own survey of its ruins, that the city of Valabhi had not, as supposed by some, been destroyed by any sinking of the ground on which it stood, but by processes of gradual decay, which had occurred long after the religion of Shiva had regained the place in it occupied of old by Buddhists and Jainas. Many objects connected with the temples of Shiva (as *lingas* and *Nandis*) had been found in the course of the excavations made in it of late years. It was to the credit of the chief, that he had put himself to considerable expense in these excavations.

Dr. Birdwood regretted that the Society possessed no rooms for the proper exhibition of its valuable collection of antiquities and coins. The Society was in so great need of extra room, even for its books, that he had applied to Government for the rooms under the Society's rooms, to keep the files of newspapers, and Government compilations, and Parliamentary returns in. But there was some fear of their being required for certain military departments. It was perhaps a graver evil that the Society had no published catalogue of its Antiquities. The same remark applied to its Natural History collections, which were for the most part almost useless for want of any record of the places from which specimens had been received.

Dr. Birdwood, the *Honorary Secretary*, then read the following paper, by Alexander Gibson, Esq :—

Notes on the Bheels North of the Nerbudda.

The Bheels may be said to be divided into three distinct tribes, viz. Bheels, Naiks, and Kolis, (or Bheelalas), and among these tribes there are many different Jats. The following are only a few of the names of the various castes of the Bheel and Bheelala; the list of the Naiks is complete.

Bheels.—Massameeah, Purmahl, Mohimeeah, Barreah, Bharooleeah, Dareeah, Bhamneeah, Bhooreeah, and Bhughooreeah..

Naiks.—Arooncah, Chowhaneeah, Mowussecah, and Danoke.

Kolis or Bheelala.—Dhareeah, Chowaneeah, Lobarceah, Kunmarh, Putrmurh, Karlceah, Darneeah, Dhamur, Tarceah, Girasseeah, Ratooreeah, Mahooneeah, Kunassecah, Barreah, Gouwareeah, Jhumoorceah, Susta, Turvey, Chungore, Bhamneea, Wahoreea, and Massaneeah.

One of the most extraordinary characteristics of the Bheel (as a race) is utter disregard for the truth on the one hand, and the greatest respect for an oath on the other.

With regard to the administration of an oath it is necessary to know which oaths are respected and which are not. For instance, a Naik or Bheel will readily swear by the sacred cow, because they, though Hindoos, ignore its sacredness, while a Bheelala, like a Rajpoot, respects the cow. There are two oaths which are considered binding by all, viz., the oath of Baba Deo and that of the Rajah's gadi (or throne).

The way in which an oath should be administered is as follows:—

The man to be sworn should be made to stand facing the sun, some grain should be placed any where in his dress, he should hold a goat's skull in his right hand, and put dust on his head. Then taking a cow-hide, and holding it on his head, he should swear.

Baba Deo Ghora is an earthen representation of a horse, and a symbol of deity. This the person to be sworn should turn round.

The oath of the Rajah's gadi is the most binding oath that can be taken by Bheel, Naik, or Bheelala. A Bheel will never break his promise; so much faith is put on his word that a Bunniah will lend him money without security or bond of any kind. The debtor, never seeking to evade payment, brings his harvest regularly to the Bunniah, and will do any thing rather than fail to pay up each instalment in full. Notwithstanding the regularity with which these payments are made, and though the debt may have been originally small, once a man gets into the Bunniah's hands he will never be free, for the

Bheel is extremely ignorant, and the Bunniah keeps his account going on the recurring principle.

The following anecdote is illustrative of the Bheel's simplicity. A man having done something wrong was ordered by his Thanadar to pay a fine of Rs. 100. The Bheel was very well off, but not knowing what a *hundred* was, and very likely thinking it was some enormous sum of money, he told the Thanadar that it was impossible for him to pay it, and said, "If you will let me off I will give you a drum of Rupees." The drum was dug up in his hut, and in it there were over Rs. 1,000.

Naiks do not wear any head-dress, their women are without cholis. The general costume of the genus Bheel, in which may be included the three above-named tribes, is a slight rag worn round the loins, and a ragged puggree. They always carry bows and arrows, and can use these weapons with great effect.

Marriage.

The only ceremony attending marriage is the Ghora Nautch. A marriage can be made without it, but it is considered to be the correct thing.

A marriage is simply a bargain (I do not mean to say that it is a traffic carried on between the sexes, both endeavouring to cheat each other, and both commonly losers in the end—as is often the case among more civilized communities). A man gives another a certain sum of money for his daughter (in the case of friends this consideration is often dispensed with). A day is fixed, and preparations are made for the nuptial festivities, at which the men and women sit separate, the women overwhelm one another with abuse, in which they are joined by the bride; if she indulges in plenty of this amusement the bride-groom is complimented on his happy lot. The Ghora Nautch is a dance; the bride-groom having taken his bride on his shoulder, dances round a fire, and all the men sitting about sing and nod their heads backwards and forwards. As a rule a Koli will not drink water offered by a Bheel, but will smoke any one's pipe. A Bhamun (only Brahmin), as a Rajpoot, will drink water offered by a Koli or a first-class Bheel. No one will drink water offered by a Naik, but all will smoke his pipe.

First-class Bheels are those of the Barreah, Bhamneahs, and Bhoo-reah castes.

Dr. Wilson moved that that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Gibson for his Notes on the Bhills, north of the Nagbada, a

paper from which something curious could be gleaned, though the author had not yet fully mastered the subject of which he treats. The Bhills, he (Dr. Wilson) added, form a very ancient tribe, or consociation of tribes in the district in which they are found, in Gujarát, Rájputáná, and Central India. They are undoubtedly the *Phyllitæ* of Ptolemy of the second century. Their designation is not of Sanskrit or Aryan origin, though it occurs in one of the smaller law-books (that of Yama), and in later Sanskrit works. He would venture, as he had mentioned at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society of the Central Provinces, to connect the name *Bhilla* with the Dravidian Kanarese word *Billa*, "a Bow," making it signify "Bowmen." The aspirate, indeed, is not to be found in the Kanarese word; but this is not a matter of any consequence, for the word for a *Bhilla* in Kanarese is *Billa* (without the aspirate), and for *Bhillas* (in the plural) *Billaru*. The *Játis* mentioned by Mr. Gibson, are only a very few of the family designations of Bhillas, the rule among them being that no man can marry in his own family, however remote the relationship may be between himself and others. The *Náyaks*, or *Nákhṛḍas* (as they are commonly called), are probably an isolated body of *Bhills*. The *Kolis* or *Kulís*, who get their designation from their *Kuls*, or clans, are probably of the same race as the *Kulambis*, the cultivators of Gujarát, and the adjoining territories, though they are less Brahmanised than the *Kulambis*, and are not to be confounded with the *Bhillálús*, who, as shown by Sir John Malcolm and others, are either *Bhills* who have embraced Muhammadanism, or whose leaders have at some period or other married into Rajput families. It is in the notices of the customs of the Bhills that Mr. Gibson's Notes are interesting. In common with the wild tribes in general the Bhills have hitherto got the credit of comparative truthfulness among the lower orders of the natives of India. The administration to them of oaths, appealing to superstitious feelings and belief, is not, in any circumstances, creditable to our Government. It might be well (Dr. Wilson also said) for those holding intercourse with the Bhills to mark all the peculiarities of the dialects spoken by them. He had himself found no words current among them in Gujarát, Rájputáná, Central India, or the northern portion of the Maráthá Country, which are not to be found in the respective languages of these provinces. He was persuaded that the families of languages in India were much fewer than is commonly believed; and that all these languages had relationships to languages

exterior to India, leading to the conclusion that what are called the aboriginal tribes of India are really the descendants of immigrants into India, though some of these immigrants must have come to this country in times prior to the entrance of the Aryas.

The President, concurring with the proposition of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, remarked that the paper read was the result of inquiry in a direction from which we may expect much valuable information, and in which as yet little had been done. The earlier inhabitants of the continent had been chiefly pressed into the southern portions by the Aryan invaders, but all throughout the country, and especially where its physical features of mountain and forest gave advantages to the occupants of the soil, races still exist respecting whom it is very desirable that our knowledge should be more complete and more precise. What we have learned suffices to show that they exhibit down to the present time marked peculiarities in many respects when compared with the general population around them. Towards the work of ascertaining the affinities which exist between these scattered remnants of pre-historical immigrants, and of referring them to their parent stocks, the Society had already made some important contributions, and several articles in the Journal testify to the interest which research of this character has excited. In the prosecution of these objects two chief methods of inquiry are open to us; examination into the languages of these tribes, and examination of their characteristic usages and customs. And by both these modes of observation we were led alike to the conclusion that these various races have retained much that was peculiar to them before they came in contact with the more highly civilized Sanskrit-speaking invaders. And much doubtless would be found in the popular religion and rites and superstitions of the Bheels, as of other aboriginal tribes, that was quite distinct from, and now and then opposed to, Brahmanical tenets and ceremonies. It is an interesting inquiry, how far, on the other hand, the simpler and purer faith with which the Aryans entered India has itself suffered modification by contact, for perhaps some four thousand years, with the various aboriginal superstitions, and by the necessity to some extent of sanctioning or incorporating these in order to maintain its own position and influence.

The best thanks of the Society were voted to the contributors to the Library and Museum for their valuable presents, and the meeting was then adjourned to Thursday, the 9th July next.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 9th July 1868, Dr. Birdwood, *Honorary Secretary*, read the following letters:—

“ TO GEORGE BIRDWOOD, Esq., M.D., Honorary Secretary
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

SIR,—Finding that the duties of the Society's Directors continue only nominal, and that their resolutions are disregarded or set aside, I do not desire any longer to remain a Director, and have accordingly the honour to request you will receive this letter as an intimation of my resignation of the office.—I have, &c.,

GEORGE FOGGO.

Bombay, 9th April 1868.”

“ Goa, 4th June 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—In the proceedings of the monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held on Thursday, the 14th May last, and published in the Bombay newspapers of May 29, I have seen two Portuguese inscriptions, taken from stones at present deposited in the Society's Museum, and accompanied by English translations.

Touching these inscriptions and their translations, I beg to direct some reflections both on the correctness of the Portuguese text and on the said translations.

The first inscription ought to be spelt in the following manner:—

ESTA OBRA SE FES NO REMATE
DO ANNO DE 635. . . E PRINCIPIO
DE 636. SENDO CAPITAO
DESTA FORTALEZA DE
CHAVL IOAO DE THOBAR
DE VELASCO E SE TOMOV
POR PADROEIRO DESTA
CIDADE O GLORIOSO
PE S. FRANCISCO XAVIER
DA COMPANHIA DE IESVS.

And thus the translation runs:— •

This work was made at the end of the year 1635. . . and at the beginning of 1636, being captain of this fortress of Chaul, Joao de

Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier of the Soc. of Jesus.

Chaul is not a place at Mahim close to the bridge, but is situated on the coast at 23 miles S. of Bombay, and has been a remarkable town and port in the time of the Portuguese. Is spelt in the English maps and books *Chaul* and *Chowul*.

The true reading of the second inscription is this—

CONSAGRADA A ETERNIDADE
 D IOAM IV REI DE PORTVGAL
 EM AS CORTES QVE CELEBROV
 NO ANNO DE 1646 FES TRIBVTARIO
 A SI E A SEVS REINOS COM
 ANNVA PENCAM A IMMACVLADA
 CONCEICAM DA VIRGEM (a)
 SENHORA E COM PVBlico
 IVRAMENTO PROMETEO
 DEFENDER QVE A MESMA
 SENHORA ELEITA PADROEIRA
 DE SEV IMPERIO FOI PRESER
 VADA DE TODA A MACVLA
 DE PECCADO ORIGINAL
 PERA QVE A PIEDADE POR
 TVGVVAZA VIVESSE MANDOV
 ABRIR NESTA PEDRA ESTA
 PERPETVA LEMBRANCA
 NO XV ANNO DE SEV IMPERIO
 E NO CHRISTO 1655
 FES (b) ESTA OBRA NA ERA
 DE 1656.

And its translation consequently :—

Sacred to the eternity,

D. John IV King Portugal in the Cortes, which he celebrated in the year 1646, made tributary himself and his kingdoms, with annual pension, to the immaculate conception, of the Virgin (Our?) Lady, and with public oath promised to defend that the same

(a) Perhaps here is omitted the word NOSSA (our).

(b) Perhaps FES SE, viz., has been made.

Lady, elected patroness of his empire, has been preserved from any stain of original sin. In order that the Portuguese piety should live, ordered to carve this perpetual memory in this stone in the XV year of his empire, and of Christ 1655.

Made this work in the era of 1656.

For me it is somewhat doubtful whether this second inscription had belonged to any place at Salsette, as it is stated in the proceedings, or to the same fort of Chaul. Like inscriptions are to be met with in almost all towns and ports both in Portugal and its dominions, in consequence of the vow made by the King D. John IV. in the year 1646, together with the *Cortes*, or Parliament of the Kingdom, for defending the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; commonly they are found in the Latin tongue; and it is the first time that I find it in Portuguese. At *Diu*, for instance, as you could see in the collection which I have gathered, of the inscriptions here existent, and which I have now the honour to send you, the same inscription is in Latin. In that very collection you will see also the King's order for carving such inscriptions on the doors of the principal Portuguese towns and forts in India.

Lastly, I advert that I have transcribed the Portuguese text intending to its more easy understanding, not following strictly the division of the lines as they are in the stones, and likewise I have put at length several words short-handed by the carver.

I will be very glad to know that this my little report had deserved the benevolent attention of the Society, to which I have the honour to belong.

I am, &c.,

J. H. da CUNHA RIVARA,
Member of the B. B. of the R. A. Society."

The President, the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, then read a paper on recent additions to our knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*, moved that the special thanks of the Society be presented to the Honourable the President for his most interesting and important paper. It had very marked historical value, and testified not merely to the accurate observational

but ingenious deductive powers of the author. The extension of the *Sák* dynasty, to which Mr. Newton had on former occasions so satisfactorily applied himself, and the confirmation of the arrangement already made of its kings, were worthy of notice; but the discovery of a coin of *Chashtan* and a coin of *Nahapana* (so long desiderated) would attract the attention of all Indian antiquarians. These unique coins carry us further back in our positive, connected knowledge of the history of Saurashtra than we have hitherto been able to go; and they afford the hope than even further progress may be made in that direction, at least leading us up to the time of our oldest rock inscriptions. He (Dr. W.) could not but agree with Mr. Newton as to the type to which these coins belonged. It was evidently not Parthian but Bactrian, as evidenced by the form and position of the figures, by the existence of the bilingual inscription (though in the cave character and not in the northern character of the Bactrian coins), and by the want of the Parthian bow found on the Parthian coins. The distinctness of the solar rays in that of *Chashtan*, compared with those of the *Sák* coins hitherto examined, must give it the precedence to them in point of time. The figures on the reverse in that of *Nahapana* certainly pointed to Bactria as affording its model, as pointed out by Mr. Newton. The names of both kings were peculiar; but Mr. Newton was most probably correct in coupling them with adventurers from Parthia, who had established an independent sovereignty in the North West of India, after the fall of the Bactrian dynasty, in connexion with the events at which he had hinted. The better workmanship of the Indian inscription in the coin of *Chashtan* than that of *Nahapana* might be accounted for by the introduction into India, about the period to which it belonged, of Bactrian artists. Altogether the paper was one which did great honour to its author and the Society; and the especial thanks of the Society were eminently due to Mr. Newton.

Mr. Justice Gibbs said: Dr. Wilson, with your permission I will second the proposition you have made. I have for many years been connected with the numismatic world, and was fortunate enough while in Sind to break into a vein of Bactrian coins, which enabled me to make, what has been admitted to be, the best collection of Greek-Bactrian tetradrachms in existence.* Some of these are now in the British Museum. I am glad to say that I believe steps have been taken by which the entire series will finally form a portion of the national collection. I am therefore much interested in congratulating our President on having realised

the idea which he has to my knowledge held for some years, that the link connecting the Sâh dynasty coins with those of the Greek-Bactrian would sooner or later be found—and I think that in the able and interesting paper he has read this evening, he has in the coin of Nahapana engraved as No. 1, in the sheet of impressions laid before the meeting, conclusively shown us that that is indeed the wanted link with which now he has so ably joined the pieces of the chain of which he had mainly been the maker. With regard to the copper coin engraved as No. 5, from the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji, I may mention that the Bull on the obverse is to be found on several of the small square bilingual coins of the later Bactrian sovereigns, *e.g.* Apollodotus and Dionedus c. B.C. 165 to 160, and this may form another link in the chain. With regard to what has been said regarding the gradual deterioration of the workmanship, I may mention that I procured eight pieces of the Bactrian series which showed a similar falling off in the tetradrachms of Enthudemus. The first was an undoubted specimen of pure Grecian art; the next by an able artist but not equal to the first, while each of the remaining coins became gradually inferior, until in the last it was difficult to make out the head on the obverse; and the figure of Hercules seated on the Nemæan lion skin laid on the rock, which appeared as the reverse, dwindled down first to the god seated on a heap of stones, and finally to a figure composed after the manner of a child's drawing of a man—a large dot for the head, lines for the body and limbs, with smaller dots for the hands and feet. I think it a matter of congratulation that we have now a fair opportunity of opening up Kathiâwar, which I feel sure will prove the storehouse of coins of the period which we have been noticing, as Upper Sind proved in my own case for those of the Greek-Bactrian dynasty. In thanking, therefore, Mr. Justice Newton for his interesting paper, we may feel sure that while it, together with the former one drawn up in 1862, will lead many here to interest themselves in the subject, it will form a fund of information on this important portion of the history of the East, which will be read with interest and advantage by the numismatic and antiquarian writers at home.

Dr. Birdwood said that his paper stood next on the notice paper, but that after the “feast of nectared sweets” they had had from the Honourable President, it would be a “crude surfeit,” and he would put it off until the next meeting accordingly.

At the monthly meeting of the 13th August the Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs said: Mr. President,—I unfortunately came too late to place this packet of coins on the table before the meeting, but I now beg to offer them for the Society's Cabinet, as I consider they are more suited for it than for that of a private collection. They consist mainly of proofs of the old copper coinage of the E. I. C. There is one set which are proofs in copper gilt, dating 1787 to 1798, of the $\frac{1}{2}$ anna and different sub-divisions of it. From the dies of these proofs were struck the old fashioned dumpy pice, which we formerly met with, and on which there was seldom any thing to be seen, but some portion of the old Company's mark, in the shape of a heart with U. E. I. C. I believe they were originally struck at home at Bolton's Soho Mint for Sumatra. There is also a set of bronze proofs of the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ anna of 1810, and gilt proofs of those of 1804. (Vide Ruding's Annals of the British Coinage, Supp. Part. II. Pl. XVI. Nos. 4, 7, 8, 10.)

There are also two sets, one in gilt and the other in bronze proofs, of the Ceylon copper coinage (vide Ruding, Supp. Part II. Plate XV. Nos. 5 and 6). I believe these, which I purchased some years ago at the sale of the valuable proofs of Mr. Acthorn, of the Royal Mint, are rare, and similar specimens can hardly now be met with. I therefore think they should appear among the Society's coins, and for that purpose lay them on the table.

I have added a very fine specimen of Charles I. half-crowns struck at the York Mint. You will notice the word "EBOR" under the horse, and the mint mark a lion in the margin: it is delineated in Ruding, Pl. XXI. No. 2. I hope it may form a beginning of a collection of English coins which the Society should, I think, possess.

Dr. Wilson exhibited the following articles:—

1. An original letter of the Emperor Theodorus addressed to the commandant of Magdala, and found by Captain James on the destruction of that fort. It is neatly written in the Ethiopic character and Amharic language, and bears the royal seal. It relates to the late Coptic Abuna of Abyssinia, and contains the cruel order to allow that ecclesiastical dignitary to die without any attempt to seek his recovery.

2. A copy neatly written on parchment of a large Amharic work, the *Gadela Georgios*, or History of St. George and the Dragon, with tolerably well executed coloured drawings of various Christian Martyrs,

male and female. This curious work also belongs to Captain James of the Bombay Staff Corps.

3. A copy of the Gospel of John in Amharic, written on parchment, and presented to Dr. Wilson by Mr. Mikhail Joseph, one of the interpreters of the Abyssinian force.

4. A copper-plate grant found in a village near Elichpur, forwarded to him for report by Captain Sczepanski, officiating Deputy Commissioner at that place.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, *President*, seconded by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., *Honorary President*, and supported by Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik and James Taylor, Esq.—“That the Committee of Management be requested to prepare and present to the Society a statement of the services which have been rendered to the Society by Dr. Birdwood, and to consider and report the mode in which these services may be most suitably acknowledged.”—Carried unanimously.

Proposed by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., *Honorary President*,—The Honourable Mr. Justice Tucker, *Vice-President*, and Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik:—“That Dr. Birdwood be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.”—Carried unanimously.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, *President*, seconded by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., *Honorary President*,—“That James Taylor, Esq., be elected Honorary Secretary to the Society.” Carried unanimously.

The Honourable the President, in proposing the first and third Resolutions, said: It is very seldom that an event can occur in the history of our Society to occasion regret so great and so well-founded as the retirement of Dr. Birdwood. Our regret is increased that this should be rendered necessary by failing health, the result of energetic and unceasing labours, of which there are few of the various interests of Bombay that have not had their share, and the largest share has been given to our Society. He has laid other institutions around us under obligations to him; and one perhaps—the Agri-Horticultural—may dispute with us the claim to having been his chief object among so many. While, however, I am not unmindful that Bombay is largely indebted to his exertions and his care for the Victoria Gardens, it is, I believe, in connection with our Society that he will feel himself to have earned the best right to be remembered.

More than six years have passed since I had the pleasure of proposing him as Secretary, and each year has but made more plain to us the value of his services. He was elected at the June meeting in 1862, and I have requested the Librarian to supply me with a few statistics as to the progress of the Society since that date, and also with the means of comparing the figures with those of an equal number of years immediately preceding. I find that during the seven years before Dr. Birdwood's election we purchased 1,309 works in 1,896 volumes, whereas during the last $6\frac{1}{2}$ years we have added to our library 3,505 works in 6,200 volumes, or about three times the former number. I find, too, that during the previous seven years, the number of members added to our list was, resident 70 and non-resident 29—total 99; whereas during Dr. Birdwood's six and a half years we have elected 262 resident members and 77 non-resident members, or a total of 339. So again the last balance-sheet before Dr. Birdwood succeeded to the office,—that of 1861—showed receipts Rs. 10,568-9-6, expenditure Rs. 5,328-15-0, cash in hand Rs. 5,239-10-6; while our balance sheet for last year exhibits receipts Rs. 34,489-0-7, expenditure Rs. 23,390-15-3, cash in hand Rs. 11,098-1-1. The receipts are more than treble, the expenditure more than quadruple, and the balance in hand double. Such results need no comment.

To Dr. Birdwood's energetic advocacy of the claims of the Society, and to his personal action and influence, we owe in a large degree several other valuable contributions. In 1864 Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 300 per mensem for the general purposes of the Society. Mr. Cowasjee Jehangheer in 1864 made a donation of Rs. 8,000 for the purchase of a valuable collection of coins and the fitting up of a room for their custody and exhibition. The same gentleman most liberally added the sum of Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of works on Oriental literature. Mr. Premchund Roychund gave Rs. 10,000 for fitting up the room assigned to Oriental literature. And the late Mr. Jugunnath Sunkursett presented Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of works on natural history.

In 1863, during Dr. Birdwood's Secretaryship, and with his assistance, a complete catalogue of our books—the first since 1845—was published, and year by year since that time the catalogue has been kept complete up to date, by supplements both alphabetical and classified. The 22nd, 23rd, and 24th numbers of the Society's Journal

have been brought out under Dr. Birdwood's editorship, and No. 25 is now in the press. He has himself contributed papers, which will be found in these numbers, on one of the trees which yield the Luban-maitee or Olibanum of commerce, on the inlaid work of Bombay, and on Recent Discoveries in Eastern Africa, as illustrating De Foe's adventures of Captain Singleton.

I must not omit an interesting feature of the latter part of Dr. Birdwood's tenure of office—the awakening of an interest with respect to the Society's objects in the minds of the native chiefs, and the higher classes in the Mofussil—especially in the most promising part of the Presidency, Kathiawar, as to-day's meeting alone would demonstrate, and the enrolling of the names of several of these chieftains and native gentlemen in the list of our members. To this result I attach very great importance, and though it is an incident with which our Secretary has been less directly connected than the others to which I have referred, I can with sincerity say that I have been much encouraged to make the efforts which have brought this about, by the never-flagging interest of Dr. Birdwood in everything conducive to the welfare of the Society.

I have recounted, I believe, the tangible results of Dr. Birdwood's Secretaryship, many of them material, and all of them such as can be easily estimated. But I can only refer each member to his own knowledge of other services not less real, which have in a very special manner characterized his term of office. Always present in the Society's rooms, his care for our comfort and convenience, his efficient management, and his pride in the reputation of the Society, have been everywhere conspicuous. And a Society such as ours, the foremost literary and scientific institution in an important city, has many offices to perform to others than its members. It has a character to sustain towards the general public, and even towards more distant communities as represented not unfrequently by visitors—at times by visitors of distinction. In all these respects it is but little to say that the Society and Bombay have been worthily represented. Many who have been sojourners amongst us will have a pleasant retrospect of information supplied, interest evinced, and numberless kind attentions shown and services courteously rendered. And to appeal again to something which testifies that the material prosperity of the Society has not engrossed all the Secretary's thoughts, I may say "*circumspicite*,"

and point to the indications of thought and taste in the effective combination of colouring in the room in which we are sitting and in those adjoining.

To myself as President, Dr. Birdwood's aid has been invaluable, and its value is enhanced by the excellent spirit in which it has always been rendered. If others have found him over-combative, my experience will in no degree bear them out ; but if straight-forwardness and enthusiasm have now and then been more prominent in him than caution, or reserve, his transparent candour and thorough earnestness of purpose have, I feel sure, been appreciated by all of us.

Our Society has been pre-eminent for the excellence of the service rendered to it by the line of able and earnest honorary secretaries which it has had the good fortune to secure, and the name of Dr. Birdwood will be associated not unsuitably with those of Erskine, Vans Kennedy, Malcolmson, and Carter. The traditions of such men are an earnest and guarantee for those who shall follow them. The high tone and character which the Secretaries have always helped to give to the Society tell on its future as well as on the present, for we may be sure that the successors of such men will be stimulated and encouraged as well as guided by the examples of zeal and high-mindedness left by those who have gone before. The Society thus receives a valuable legacy in addition to the advantage of actual services rendered by each such officer, and I feel assured that, taken all in all, Dr. Birdwood will not suffer by comparison with those who are to be found in the list of his predecessors, though it is a record of which the Society may well be proud.

I beg to propose that the Committee of Management be requested to draw up and lay before the Society a statement of Dr. Birdwood's services, and to consider and report the mode in which these services may be most suitably acknowledged.

With respect to the Secretaryship, it would have given me very great gratification to propose to the office permanently the gentleman whom we should all desire to see holding it, and who has already so ably officiated in it on occasions of the Secretary's absence. I need not say that I refer to Mr. James Taylor. I regret to say, however, that he can accept the appointment only temporarily, but as he has acceded to my request that he would for the present give us the benefit

of his services, I propose that he be appointed Honorary Secretary to the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President of the Society, said he very cordially seconded the motion which had been so appropriately made and supported by the Honourable the President. This he did with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude to Dr. Birdwood for the ability, zeal, and success with which he had discharged the duties of the Secretaryship of the Society during the six or seven years that he had held that office, and with much admiration of the application and devotedness which he had made to bear upon them, far in excess of any expectancy which the Society could reasonably form of his call to action in its behalf. The time employed in connexion with them indicated much self-denial on his part; for it could have been advantageously employed by him (to his own credit) in directly furthering the scientific objects of the Society by the production of original papers, even of greater importance than those which he had from time to time laid before the Society. Dr. Birdwood had been constantly in the rooms of the Society, and that not as a trifling lounge, or busy news-monger, but as the active inspector of the whole establishment, the busy official advancing its business, and the kind friend and assistant of all the visitors of the library and museum, among whom were not a few distinguished men from distant lands, who were ever expressing their obligations to him for his courteous attentions and his instructive exhibition of the numerous objects of curiosity and interest collected in this literary and antiquarian depository. The library, as mentioned by the President, had been vastly enlarged by Dr. Birdwood, aided by the munificent contributions of the benefactors whose names were so well known in this community; but it had grown not only in bulk beyond anything yet exemplified in the East, but in value, and that to a degree far exceeding in proportion any mere increase in bulk. By far the largest acquisitions to the library were neither of an ephemeral nor secondary character, but consisted of standard works in literature, history, and science (especially in Oriental literature and natural history), which, with former acquisitions, rendered the library the most important in the eastern world. Provision, too, had been made by Dr. Birdwood for a continuous enlargement of the library by the increased resources arising from the extended membership of the Society. Provision, also, had been made by him for the expansion of the museum, by the space which had been procured for it, and

by the tasteful and advantageous way in which the objects which it contained were now accommodated and exhibited. The Society altogether was at present an educational instrument of no small importance, and especially as it united the intelligent natives of the country of all classes with Europeans who had the honour of its foundation. The result must be most beneficial. India, so long silent, would ere long speak of its own wonders. This he (Dr. Wilson) had great pleasure in saying, though he had no wish to repeat what had already been so well said by the President. The Committee, proceeding deliberately to work, would supply any omissions which might have been made on the present occasion. Before sitting down, however, he would take the liberty of making another proposal to the Society, that the name of Dr. Birdwood should be enrolled in the list of its Honorary members, an arrangement, similar to that adopted in the case of Dr. Carter, which would do as much honour to the Society as to himself, both in grateful acknowledgment of what he had done for it, and in anticipation of what he might do for it with the greater leisure which, it is hoped, he will enjoy in Europe, where all trusted he would find a position and career of usefulness and happiness.

Rao Saheb Vishwanath N. Mandlik regretted that Dr. Birdwood had resigned, and on the ground of ill-health. The President had already dwelt on the services of Dr. Birdwood to the Society, but there was one to which sufficient attention had not been drawn. Dr. Birdwood had popularised this Society, not by reducing its status, but by helping to make it more accessible to the native community, and this would be clearly seen by referring to the lists of members.

Mr. James Taylor said: Though I can add but little to the interesting addresses you have just heard from the Honourable President, from Dr. Wilson, and from Rao Saheb Mandlik,—still as I have had the honour of being intimately acquainted with Dr. Birdwood ever since he came to Bombay, I cannot allow such a resolution as that which has just been submitted to us by the President, to be passed without embracing the opportunity which it affords of expressing, in a few words, how heartily and how entirely I concur in it. In the early days of my acquaintance with Dr. Birdwood, I remember being struck with the ardent manner in which he pursued those scientific studies in which he took special interest, particularly botany, natural history, and geology; and these studies could not be prosecuted

with the devoted attention Dr. Birdwood gave to them, without his making many sacrifices. This, however, is neither the place nor the time for referring to the eminent services Dr. Birdwood has in so many ways rendered to Bombay; we have at present only to speak of what he has done for this Society. But in passing I may be allowed to mention what is known perhaps to only a very few of the members present, that one of the earliest, if not indeed the earliest of Dr. Birdwood's literary contributions to the press in Bombay, was an interesting article on the valuable compilation of papers on the Geology of India made by his predecessor in the office of Honorary Secretary to this Society, Dr. Carter, which appeared in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* in 1858. When I returned to Bombay in 1863, after an absence of four years, I found Dr. Birdwood installed in the office of Secretary to this Society, and having been myself from the following year a member of the Committee of Management, I am in a position to be able to say that it would be difficult to overstate the value of the services he has rendered to the Society, or the benefits he has been the means of conferring on it. To Dr. Birdwood we are mainly indebted for the enormous increase that has taken place in the Society's resources within the period he has been connected with it as Honorary Secretary, and his own literary and scientific tastes have guided him in so employing these resources, as to have provided us with the best library in European and Oriental literature to be met with in Asia, or indeed anywhere east of Europe. The munificent benefaction of Mr. Cowasjee Jehanghier, Mr. Premchund Roychund, and the late Mr. Jagganath Sunkersett, have been referred to by the Honourable President and Dr. Wilson, and I can add nothing to what they have said on these heads; only I would beg the members to bear in mind that it is to Dr. Birdwood we entirely owe these benefactions having been made, and that it is to his good taste in laying out so judiciously the funds placed at his disposal by these liberal-minded native gentlemen, that we have libraries of works in Oriental literature and Natural history complete in themselves, and a collection of Oriental coins, placed in rooms specially provided and elegantly fitted up for their reception. It has been also the constant care of Dr. Birdwood to examine all the important branches of literature in which the library was defective, and to supply all omissions in as regular and systematic a manner as the ordinary resources of the Society enabled him. • But I will not detain this meeting by entering on further

details on points that have already been fully and ably laid before you. I will only say in conclusion, that after all that can be said of improvements to our library, Dr. Birdwood's care for the Society's Journal and his contributions to it, the useful annual catalogues published, which he was the first to institute, and his ready kindness and attention to foreign or other distinguished visitors,—members will still but imperfectly realize the unremitting care and assiduity with which Dr. Birdwood constantly watched over the Society's every interest ; how much we all owe to him, and how difficult it will be to supply his place.

Dr. Birdwood, in reply, said : Mr. President and gentlemen, If anything could sweeten my regret in parting from you, it would be the honour you have done me by your hearty acknowledgment of such poor services as I have been enabled to render to this Society, but which I have always rendered with the greatest pride. It is peculiarly gratifying to me that the resolution which you have just voted should have been proposed by the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton and the learned and Rev. Dr. Wilson, and so warmly supported by Mr. James Taylor and Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik. Dr. Wilson's name was a revered household word to me years before I came to Bombay, and it was whilst a student in Edinburgh that I first read his delightful book on " the Lands of the Bible," and so deep and lasting an impression did it then make on me, that I have carried it about with me—amongst my few household gods—ever since ; and I could now, so it seems to me, find my way throughout the Holy Land from the memory in its pages of the gardens of En-gannim, the great plain of Esdraelon, and the hills of Galilee and mountains of Gilboa; and you will understand therefore how proud I felt when I was proposed by him in 1855 as a member of this Society. Since then I have met the Rev. Dr. Wilson on an average of probably once a week on some public business or other. The Honourable Mr. Newton proposed me as your Honorary Secretary in 1862, and as the President of the Society, he has of course come to know me very intimately, since then. Mr. Taylor is one of my oldest and most tried friends in Bombay, and the Rao Saheb one of my oldest and most intimate native friends, and I cannot but feel the most sincere gratification in finding the four members of the Society who have known me longest and best taking the lead in your proceedings to-day in my honour. But it is

with unfeigned lips I say that your good-will towards me has greatly exaggerated the value of my services to you, —I have only been the ever very humble servant of your committee. I have, of course, often differed with them, but always in the end our unanimity has been wonderful. I have always recognised their invaluable restraint on me: and we never had a Committee more thoroughly representative of our interests, or more zealously determined on promoting them, than the present one. I must express my great obligations also to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, who has for nearly 40 years been the pillar of our Society, and to my valued friend Mr. James Taylor. I have always been in the habit of consulting Mr. Taylor on all the business of the Society, especially when I may have got into a scrape, and he has always been in the habit of administering to me the most drastic correction. I am not entitled to have an opinion on the Honourable Mr. Newton's papers in our Transactions, although I know that they are held by those competent to judge of them to be the most valuable contributions on numismatics that we have received, whilst his last paper, "On the Ancient Dynasties of Western India," has been recognized as one of the most valuable contributions towards the history of India that have ever anywhere been made. But no one can testify so well as I can to the President's earnest solicitude and zeal in the discharge of his official duties. He has also discharged all but the merely clerical duties of your Secretary ever since my return in ill-health from Paris, last November: and this brilliant list of rajahs, princes, and chiefs on the notice paper to-day as candidates for admission into our Society, has been worked up exclusively by the President and expressly for my credit—that my sun might set in a blaze of glory! I really cannot trust myself to express my sense of such chivalrous goodness,—such grace of goodness, shown by one man towards another. I must take this opportunity also of publicly acknowledging the obligations of our Society to Mr. Rivett-Carnac, who has proved himself a most dashing and successful recruiting officer for us in the Central Provinces. Thanks to him, this Society at least has almost completed the annexation of the Central Provinces. In fact the prosperity and success of our Society are owing to the strong *esprit de corps* which exists amongst its members. We are all proud of it, and determined to maintain it worthy of its origin and traditions, and our President is quite entitled to say of me—and I hope that before very long it may be true to the very number—

“ I trust I have within my realm
Five hundred as good as he.”

It is very acceptable to me that the character of the books added to the Library during my term of office should have received the emphatic imprimatur of the learned and Reverend Dr. Wilson. I deeply regret that I have not been able to write more for our Transactions—but it has been a fight with wild beasts at Ephesus for me, ever since I came to Bombay; and the only leisure that I ever had here was given to the compilation of my Catalogue of the Raw Products of Western India, and the Honourable Mr. Gibbs will remember how disturbed and distressed that leisure was. My excellent friend the Rao Saheb has given me credit for popularizing the Society, that is, for encouraging the admission of native gentlemen into it. When I was appointed Honorary Secretary I believe that there were not half a dozen native gentlemen on our roll, and now there are nearly one hundred. But, so far as I am concerned, I have only been very selfish in this. Our European members, always coming and going, are not worth more on an average than Rs. 50 each a year for ten years. But every native member is worth the full value of his annual subscription—Rs. 100—for life—and I wish a long life to them all! But let me protest against popularizing the Society by turning it into a circulating library. Of course it must be a circulating library. Every where in the world in some form or other the Sudras and Vaishyas have to feed the Brahmins; and so here, as those who need the library for reference are too few to support it, it is necessary to win others, who do not care for standard works, to contribute towards it also; and to get their subscriptions sensation novels must be circulated. But it must be always remembered that this is a library of reference, and of standard works, and *not* a circulating library, and that novels are only—bait! Of course I make a point of conscience to read all our novels, and I must confess that they are most taking bait—so delightful, so wrong. In conclusion I have only to repeat how gratified I feel with this afternoon's proceedings. I shall always remember with pride and gratitude the honour which you have done to me. In the discharge of my duties here, I have above all sought your approval, and I am thoroughly delighted that I have found it.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 10th September 1868, the following report from the Committee of Management was read by the Honourable the President :—

The Committee having been requested in terms of the resolution passed at last meeting to draw up an address to Dr. Birdwood, recognising the services he has rendered to the Society, and to consider and report as to the mode in which those services may be most suitably acknowledged, beg to lay before the meeting the draft of an address which they have proposed for adoption, and recommend that a subscription amongst the members of the Society, for a testimonial to Dr. Birdwood, be opened, at the rate of Rs. 25 for each member desirous of subscribing.

James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*, then read the following address :—

“ To G. C. M. BIRDWOOD, Esq., M.D.,

Honorary Secretary to the Bombay Branch of the

Royal Asiatic Society, &c. &c.

SIR,—We, the members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the occasion of your retirement from the office of Honorary Secretary, desire to express the sense we entertain of the valuable services you have so zealously and efficiently rendered during the period you were officially connected with the Society. It is very seldom that an event can occur in the history of our Society to occasion regret so great and so well-founded as that of your retirement. Our regret is increased that this should be rendered necessary by failing health, the result of energetic and unceasing labours, of which there are few of the various interests of Bombay that have not had their share, and the largest share has been given to our Society. More than six years have passed since you were appointed to the office of Honorary Secretary, and each year has but made more plain to us the value of your services. We find that during the seven years before your appointment, we purchased 1,309 works in 1,896 volumes, whereas, during the last six and a half years, we have added to our library 3,505 works, in 6,200 volumes, or about three times the former number. We find, too, that during the previous seven years, the number of members added to our list was—resident 70, and non-resident 29—total 99. Whereas, during your tenure of office, we have elected 262

resident members, and 77 non-resident members, or a total of 339. So, again, the last balance-sheet before you succeeded to the office of Honorary Secretary, that of 1861—showed receipts Rs. 10,568-9-6, expenditure Rs. 5,328-15, cash in hand Rs. 5,239-10-6. While our balance-sheet for last year exhibits receipts Rs. 34,489-0-7, expenditure Rs. 23,390-15-3, cash in hand Rs. 11,098-1-4. The receipts are more than treble, the expenditure more than quadruple, and the balance in hand double. Such results need no comment. To your energetic advocacy of the claims of the Society, and to your personal action and influence, we owe in a large degree several other valuable contributions. In 1864 Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 300 per mensem for the general purposes of the Society. Mr. Cowasjee Jehanghier in 1864 made a donation of Rs. 8,000 for the purchase of a valuable collection of coins, and the fitting up of a room for their custody and exhibition. The same gentleman most liberally added the sum of Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of works on Oriental Literature. Mr. Premchund Roychund gave Rs. 10,000 for fitting up the room assigned to Oriental Literature. The late Mr. Jagonnath Sunkersett presented Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of works on Natural History. In 1863, during your Secretaryship, and with your assistance, a complete catalogue of our books—the first since 1845—was published, and year by year since that time the catalogue has been kept complete up to date, by supplements both alphabetical and classified. The 22nd, 23rd, and 24th numbers of the Society's Journal have been brought out under your editorship, and number 25 is now in the press. You have yourself contributed papers which will be found in these numbers. We must not omit an interesting feature of the latter part of your tenure of office—the awakening of an interest with respect to the Society's objects in the minds of the native chiefs, and the higher classes in the Mofussil—especially in the most promising part of the presidency, Kattiawar. We have recounted the tangible results of your Secretaryship, many of them material, and all of them such as can be easily estimated. But each member of his own knowledge can speak of other services not less real, which have in a very special manner characterised your term of office. Always present in the Society's rooms, your care for our comfort and convenience, your efficient management, and your pride in the reputation of the Society, have been everywhere conspicuous. And a Society such as ours, the foremost literary and scientific institution in an important city, has many offices

to perform to others than its members. It has a character to sustain towards the general public, and even towards more distant communities as represented not unfrequently by visitors; at times by visitors of distinction. In all these respects it is but little to say that the Society and Bombay have been worthily represented. Many who have been sojourners amongst us will have a pleasant retrospect of information supplied, interest evinced, and numberless kind attentions shown and services courteously rendered. Our Society has been pre-eminent for the excellence of the service rendered to it by the line of able and earnest Secretaries which it has had the good fortune to secure, and your name will be honourably associated with those of Erskine, Vans Kennedy, Malcolmson, and Carter. The traditions of such men are an earnest and guarantee for those who shall follow them. The high tone and character which the Secretaries have always helped to give to the Society, tell on its future as well as on the present, for we may be sure that the successors of such men will be stimulated and encouraged, as well as guided by the examples of zeal and high-mindedness left by those who have gone before. The Society thus receives a valuable legacy in addition to the advantage of actual services rendered by each such officer, and we feel assured you will not suffer by comparison with those who are to be found in the list of your predecessors, though it is a record of which the Society may well be proud. To mark our sense of the many obligations under which you have placed the Society—we have opened a subscription amongst the members for the purpose of a testimonial to be hereafter presented to you—and with our best wishes for the improvement of your impaired health, and for your future welfare and prosperity.—We are, &c.”

Proposed by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., *Honorary President*, and seconded by the Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs, “That the address now read, and the recommendation of the Committee to open a subscription amongst the members of the Society, for a testimonial to Dr. Birdwood, be adopted.” Carried unanimously.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 8th October 1868, the Honourable the *President*, Mr. Justice Newton, presented two copper plate grants to the Society, on behalf of Colonel W. W. Anderson, Political Agent in Kathiawar, and of Krishnajeeluxuman, Esq., Extra Assistant to the Political Agent of Kathiawar. They had been found during

excavations at the ruins of Valabhi, and were of the ordinary type and character of the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi dynasty, of which a large number has now been discovered, and several specimens are in the Society's Museum. The President had not yet had time to make a careful examination of the plates, but it did not seem likely they could supply any addition of importance to our present knowledge respecting the dynasty.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. Justice Tucker, one of the Vice-Presidents, and seconded by Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, that the thanks of the Society be given to Colonel Anderson and to Mr. Krishnajee Luxuman for their presents of the two copper plates to the Society's Museum. Carried unanimously.

After the reading of a paper by George Bühler, Esq., Ph.D., on the Age of Vijnanesvara, the author of the Mitākshara, the Honourable the President remarked that the work of Vijnanesvara, the Mitākshara, was much better known in our courts of law than to most members of the Society, as it is with us, and indeed throughout the greater part of India, the chief authority on Hindu law. The means already existed for fixing the date of the Mitākshara approximately, and the President read from the preface to the work of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, published by Mr. West and Dr. Bühler last year, passages stating the arguments from which it had been concluded that Vijnanesvara lived either in the ninth or tenth century of our era, as supposed by Mr. Colebrooke, or as seemed more probable in the eleventh or twelfth. A more precise determination of the date was desirable, and Dr. Bühler's previous supposition is confirmed, if we have ground, as appeared to be made out, for the inference that the author of the Mitākshara composed his work in the city whose praises are proclaimed by the copyist. The name of Vikramaditya would not have given us much information, for kings bearing that name have been numerous, but the mention of Kalyana is much more definite. Kalyana in the Dekhan must be referred to, and it may be questioned whether there was a second city of note of the same name, though in the translation of the Ratna Mālā, lately read before the Society, mention was made of Kalyana Katak, in Kanya Kubja Desh, i.e. in Kanouje. It was the capital of a Chayluka, and though the narrative of the Ratna Mālā presents some difficulties, it seems on the whole more reasonable to conclude, that the province of Kanouje was then

considered to extend to the vicinity of Kalburga, than to infer the existence of a second Kalyana of unknown site further north.

It is known that the author of another valuable work on Hindu law, the Vyavahara Mayukh, which is next in authority to the Mitākshara in this Presidency, was a Deshasth Brahman, and if Dr. Bühler's deductions are correct, the honour of having produced the work which is now the highest authority on Hindu law must be assigned not to the northern or southern provinces, which have hitherto claimed it, but to Western India.

Mr. Bhāu Dāji coincided entirely with Dr. Bühler in fixing the age of Vidnyāṇesvara at the Court of the Chálukya Vikramāditya Deva, of Kalyan in the Deccan. The Sanskrit verses quoted by Dr. Bühler are to be found in a lithographed edition of the Mitāksharā, published about 7 years ago in Bombay; and also in one of Mr. Bhāu Dāji's own manuscripts about two hundred years old. It is important to note the title deva, added to Vikramāditya, as the same is in some inscriptions, according to Walter Elliot, applied to other Chálukya Kings who came immediately before and after him. Although there was now no reason to doubt that Vidnyāṇesvara flourished after Bhoja of Dhar, it is by no means a certainty that Dhāres'wara means the celebrated Bhoja of Dhar. When Bhoja's works are quoted, the expression "iti Bhojah" always occurs, and there is a possibility of Dhāres'wara being an independent and Southern author. Nilakantha has a Dhāres'warachārya. That Vidnyāṇesvara was a native of the South, is shown by the fact that in quoting authors from the North of India, he calls them "Oudichyah" "Northern authors," he himself being a Southern one. Ever since the time of Elliot and Wathen, Kalyan is believed to have been the capital of the Chálukyas from the commencement of the rule of the Dynasty in the Deccan. But this is a mistake. Kalyan was the capital only of the later Chálukyas. The name first occurs in General Jacob's Copper-Plate Grant, dated Saka 1182, or A.D. 1261 (*Journal Bombay R. A. Society*, January 1852). The quotation from the Mitāksharā shows that it was the capital two centuries earlier. I have not been able to find out the exact date of the transfer of the capital to Kalyan. The capital of the older Chálukyas was a city called Wátápipuri. In Wathen's ancient inscriptions No. IV.—*Journal R. A. S.* vol. III.—the name is incorrectly deciphered as Dhátápipura. It is also to be found in a temple inscription, of which photographs have been published by Mr. Hope for the Architectural Society of Western India. This in-

scription, which is dated Saka 506 (A.D. 584) is important in many respects, especially as containing the name of the Poet Kalidása. In this inscription Pulakési the first (A.D. 490) is said to have reigned in Wátápipuri. It appears to have been situated on the banks of the Bhima, and to have been a very ancient city, as according to the Mahábhárata, the Pándavas visited it. It is there also called Durjayapuri. When the celebrated Chinese Pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang visited Maháráshtra in the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era, he states that, Purakesa, a powerful opponent of Harshwardhan or Siláditya of Northern India, was the name of its king, and that his army of Marathas was distinguished for its bravery. This King is undoubtedly the Chálukya Pulakési II. Hiouen-Tsang unfortunately does not give the name of the capital, but states that it was situated on a large river. As Kalyan is not on a large river, Wátápipuri on the Bhima is no doubt indicated. The statement of Hiouen-Tsang regarding the site of the capital of Maháráshtra, has led commentators on the geography of his travels, and especially the learned author of the Analytical Memoir, L. Vivien de Saint Martin, to assume that the capital of Maháráshtra was situated in the upper basin of the Godavary, and that it was either Paithan or Devagiri (Dowlatabad). But Mr. Bháu Daji had no doubt the capital was situated on the banks of the Bhima, and was called Wátápipuri. Mr. Bháu Daji made this diversion from the main subject in the hope that, as Railway operations are going on in the neighbourhood of Gulburga or Kulburga, near the banks of the Bhima, the intelligent officers in charge may be induced to seek for and discover the exact site of this city. It will be found within fifty miles of Kulburga, on the northern bank of the Bhima. Another town or city of the Chálukyas mentioned, though not identical with Wátápipuri, is Kurumarathyá, where King Kirtivarmá, the son of Rana Vikram, resided when he bestowed a village named Alandatirtha on a Bramana, on the bank of the Bhímarathyá or Bhima. In all these places old coins of the Chálukyas ought to be discovered. Madanapála, the author of the Subodhiniá commentary on the Mitákshará, calls himself a native of Kate-Nagara, and a descendant of the Táko or Tánko race. Madanapála's son, Mándhátá, compares him to Bhoja of Dhara. Madanapála quotes Hemádri, the reputed author of some of the ablest works on the religion and laws of the Hindus. He flourished at Devagiri in the 13th century, and Mr. Bhau Daji promised to give a brief account of this and other authors at the next meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 12th November 1868, Dr. Bühler said that he was glad to see Dr. Bhāu Dāji bring forward a paper like the one just read, containing an account of the works of so eminent a writer on Hindu law and custom as Hemadri. Papers of this kind were absolutely wanted in order to fix the chronology of the mediæval Hindu writers, to settle the extent of the various law-schools, and to prepare, in this manner, the way for a history of the Hindu law, which, up to this time, had never been attempted, and, in fact, was impossible. Hemadri's date was fortunately, ascertainable with certainty, and might again serve to fix the dates of other works on law. Adverting to some of the particulars in Dr. Bhāu's paper, Dr. Bühler called Dr. Bhāu's attention to the Oxford and Berlin Catalogues, where also some of Hemadri's works had been described, and from which some additions might be made to Dr. Bhāu's list. Regarding the list of authorities quoted by Hemadri, Dr. Bühler stated that the works of Visvaraja, Jayanta, and Apararka existed in the Maratha country, though there seemed to be some difficulty in persuading the owners to give up their copies. The Grigasutri of Saunaka, quoted by Hemadri belonged most likely to the Rigveda, and not to the Atharva-veda. Saunaka was the teacher of Asvalayana, and was said to have burnt his own sutras in favour of his pupils' productions. But the Mitākshara certainly quoted his works. In conclusion, Dr. Bühler expressed a hope that Dr. Bhāu Dāji would soon give the Society an article on Sagara Madhava, and their relation to Vidyaranga Svamin, a matter which was still enveloped in obscurity. Dr. Bhāu Dāji would, no doubt, be able to throw a new light on it by the help of his stores of MSS. and inscriptions.

Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik said : I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition of Dr. Bühler that the Society offer its best thanks to Dr. Bhāu Dāji for the very able and interesting paper he has favoured us with to-day. The works of Hemadri are not cited as authorities on the Vyavahara (or civil law) as enforced in the Courts of this presidency ; but they are in great repute amongst the people, and their publication will serve greatly in settling doubtful and contested points of law, as observed by the various schools in India. At the last meeting Dr. Bühler gave us a paper on the date of Vidnyāneshavra, and the present communication by Dr. Bhāu Dāji I take to be merely an earnest of what he has in store for our Society,—a small instalment of what is due to us from the learned Vice-President.

Dr. Wilson, the Honorary President, in conveying the warm thanks of the Society to Dr. Bháu Daji for this interesting paper, said that he fully agreed with the remarks made upon it by Dr. Bühler and Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik. The importance of bringing to notice the allusions and statements which fix the time when Hemadri flourished, he added may be well illustrated by the indefinite notice of him taken by the accomplished Mr. Arthur Steele in his "Summary of the law and custom of Hindoo castes," in which it is merely said :—" Hemadri containing 12 divisions, (100,000 Shlokas) : by Hemadri Bhatta Kashikar. This is a very ancient work of notoriety, treating of all subjects." He should be glad to find, he also said, that Dr. Bháu Daji could find leisure, amidst his fruitful researches, to continue his inquiries about the age of the Maratha poet Makundraj, and his claims to be considered the oldest poet of the Marathas, about which a difference of opinion exists among the Marathas themselves. The language of Makundraj did not appear to him so ancient as some supposed.

Mr. Martin Wood inquired in regard to the note on Makundraj, whether the Marathi language was settled at the date when Makundraj wrote.

Rao Saheb Visvanath Narayan Mandlik said, I think it was. The works of this author prove it in some measure; and the works of Dnyaneshwar, who followed Makundraj, confirm this opinion. Dnyaneshwar's great work in Marathi is his learned and elaborate commentary on the celebrated poem, the Bhagavatgita, which gives us Shaka year 1272 (A.C. 1350), as the one when it was composed; so that there is no doubt whatever as to the date of this author. From this work and the works of Makundraj, there can be no doubt that the Maratha language was well settled at that time.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

MONDAY, 30TH NOVEMBER 1868.

Mr. James Taylor, the *Honorary Secretary*, at the request of the Honourable the President, read the

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1867-68.

GENTLEMEN,—*Members*.—During the past year 41 resident and 25 non-resident members were elected, against 40 resident and 14 non-

resident in 1866-67. Eight members have withdrawn, and two died, and the names of 44 members have been struck off the list in the past year, who have retired, and will not return to India again—thus leaving 240 resident and 100 non-resident, or in all 340 on the Society's roll. Of these 53 are in England. On the last anniversary we had 185 resident and 61 non-resident, or in all 341 on the Society's roll, and of these 95 were in England.

Library.—During the year 675 Works in 972 volumes were bought by the Society, against 624 Works in 956 volumes bought in 1866-67.

Tabular Statement.—The following table shows the number of works and volumes added to the library in their respective classes by purchase during the year exclusive of presentations :—

Class.	Subjects.	Works.	Vols.
I.	Theology and Ecclesiastical History	72	93
II.	Natural Theology, &c.	17	21
III.	Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	15	15
IV.	Classics, Translations, &c.	12	13
V.	Philology, Literary History, &c.	8	11
VI.	History, Historical Memoirs	36	58
VII.	Politics, Political Economy	30	35
VIII.	Jurisprudence	6	6
IX.	Parliamentary Papers, &c.	60	67
X.	Biography and Personal Narratives	35	49
• XI.	Antiquities, Numismatics, &c.	19	24
XII.	Voyages and Travels	100	113
XIII.	English Poetry and Dramatic Works	26	32
XIV.	Novels and Romances	80	17
XV.	Miscellaneous Works, &c.	28	39
XVI.	Foreign Literature	8	24
XVII.	Natural Philosophy, &c.	12	12
XVIII.	Fine Arts and Architecture	10	14
XIX.	Science of War, &c.	3	4
XX.	Natural History, Geology, &c.	25	47
XXI.	Botany, &c.	7	11
XXII.	Medicine, Surgery, &c.	5	8
XXIII.	Physiology and Dietetics	3	3
XXIV.	Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	47	88
XXV.	Dictionaries, Lexicons, &c.	4	5
XXVI.	Oriental Literature	7	9
Total of Works and Vols.		675	972

Library Catalogues.—The manuscripts of both alphabetical and classified catalogues of the works received during the year 1867-68 are laid on the table, and will be printed and issued to members within three months from this date.

Periodicals.—The Periodicals taken by the Society are as follows:—Literary 6; Illustrated 6; Scientific 31; Reviews 8; Newspapers 14; Medical Newspaper 1; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 18; French Literary and Scientific Periodicals 9; American Literary and Scientific Periodicals 5; American Newspaper 1; German Literary and Scientific Periodicals 4; Indian Newspapers 14; Indian Journals and Reviews 30; Batavian Society's Publications 3. Being a total of 117 Scientific and Literary Periodicals and 33 Newspapers, or altogether 150 Periodicals, of which 50 are given in return for the Society's journal.

Presents to the Library.—35 Miscellaneous Works in 46 volumes and 70 pamphlets were presented to the Society during the year, and chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay; the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; the Boston Society of Natural History; the University of Christiania, Norway; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Esq.; the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; M. Garcin de Tassy; Dr. A. Weber; Captain Mellish, R.E.; and Drs. Broughton, Birdwood, and Reid.

Presents to the Museum.—12 coins by A. H. Spry, Esq., C.S.; Fossil tusk of extinct mammal, by Dr. H. Cook; Jain marble image of 700 or 800 years old from Sidhpur Puttan, by T. B. Curtis, Esq.; 80 Silver and Copper Coins by the Government of Bombay; Eyeless Fish and Eyeless Cray Fish from Mammoth Cave, Kentucky; Iron Ore from the Bluff, from Iron Mountain, Missouri, United States; Iron Ore, from the Iron Mountain, United States; Hematite, from the Iron Mountain, Missouri, by W. E. Frere, Esq., late President of the Society; 2 Copper-plate Grants by Raol Shree Meghrajee Prithirajjee, Thakur Saheb of Wulla; Stone Image of Gunpati, dug up at Valabhi; Do. do. small do.; Do. of some Dev or Devee, possibly Buddhist, though the figure appears to be a female one; Do. do. portion of ditto; small Image in Stone representing killing buffaloe, dug up at Valabhi; Female Figure in Stone with Tiara; Bead Green and Blue Stone; Seal (apparently) of semi-transparent blue stone; 7 Coins,

dug up at ditto, by Captain J. W. Watson ; Coins, 2 ancient silver, by the Collector of Ahmedabad ; a piece of Burnt Brick and Sun-dried Brick, from the large tope at Sanchi, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Osborn ; a Marble Slab bearing an inscription and coat of arms, removed from over the gate-way of an Old Jesuit College at Ghorebunder, by the Acting Collector of Tanna ; a Copper-plate Inscription of an ancient date found in the village of Bhatera, of Kupperwunj Talooka, by the Acting Collector of Kaira ; 5 Gilt Copper Proofs of the copper coinage for India issued in 1787-93-94-98 ; 3 Bronze Proofs of the copper coinage for Ceylon ; 3 Gilt Copper Proofs, for Ceylon ; 2 Copper Bronze Proofs for the $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ anna, 1810 ; 2 Gilt Copper Proofs for ditto, 1804 ; 1 York half-crown of Charles I., with Ebor under the horse, by the Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs ; 2 Copper-plate Grants found during excavations of the ruins of Valabhi, by Colonel Anderson and Krishnajeel Luxumon, Esq. ; 7 Silver Mahomedan Coins, by W. H. Propert, Esq., Agent to the Governor, Punch Mahals ; and 12 Silver Coins, by E. James, Esq., C.S.

Original Communications.—The following papers were read during the past year :—

1. On the recent additions to our knowledge of the dynasties of Western India, by the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton.
2. Translation of the Ratna Mālā, by the late Mr. Justice Forbes, read by the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton.
3. Mertunga's Theravali, by Mr. Bhāu Daji.
4. On the Age and Works of Hemadri, by ditto.
5. On Makandraj, by ditto.
6. On the Age of the Author of Mitākshara, by Dr. George Bühler.
7. On the legend of "Tristan," by Mr. E. Tyrrell Leith.
8. On the Bheels north of the Nerbudda, by Mr. Alex. Gibson.

Journal.—No. XXIV. of the Society's Journal, containing the Papers read, and Proceedings of the Society to the close of 1866, was published, and distributed to members early in the present year.

No. XXV., containing the Papers read in 1867 and 1868, and the Proceedings to the present date, is in the press, and will be published about the end of next month, or in the beginning of January.

Finance.—The financial state of the Society is satisfactory.

Catalogue of the Mulla Firoz Library.—Under the superintendence of Dr. Dymock, one of the members of the Society, a Catalogue of

the Persian MSS. in the Mulla Firoz Library has been prepared by a competent moonshee, accompanied with an English translation by Dr. Dymock. It is nearly completed, and when ready it will be of great service to members of the Society, and Oriental scholars generally.

Resignation by Dr. Birdwood of the Secretaryship of the Society.—The Society accepted Dr. Birdwood's resignation of the office of Honorary Secretary in August last, in consequence of his having to proceed to Europe from failing health. An address was voted, and a subscription was opened among the members for a testimonial to Dr. Birdwood in recognition of his services to the Society during the period he held the office of Secretary, and he was also elected an Honorary member. At the same time Mr. James Taylor was appointed to the office of Secretary to the Society.

Gallery and Book-cases in the large room of the Library.—The gallery and book-cases in the large room of the library sanctioned by the Committee are ready, and will be fitted up in the course of a few months.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*, moved that the report now read by the Secretary be adopted; and that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the President and office-bearers for their able, zealous, and efficient services during the past year. In doing this he expressed his great satisfaction with the continued and undiminished prosperity of the Society. A few years ago, when there began to be a great rush of gentlemen into its membership, he feared that this might be owing to the unexampled prosperity at the time of the city of Bombay, caused by unusual demands made for some of the staples of its commerce. The membership, however, had not suffered by the events, trying in their relations and effects, which had since occurred. Whether this was owing to the extension of higher education among the natives of India, and the consequent quickening among them of intellectual life, or to the greater attractions of the library, which had been so much enlarged, especially by the munificent benefactions which had of late years been received from liberal Bombay citizens, could not well be determined. The fact was a pleasing one that the names of 340 members were still on the roll, including those of influential princes and chiefs, who for the first time had during the past year come forward to encourage oriental and anti-quarian research. The consequence of the undiminished income of the Society was an undiminished supply of fresh books for the library, to

the amount of 675 works in 972 volumes. It is confidently hoped that such a supply as this will long continue. In fact, more volumes may be expected in coming years, as the Society was now well supplied with the illustrated sumptuous works which had been long with it a desideratum. The booksellers of the Society had been most attentive to the instructions which they had received from the Committee, and no fault could be found with them for the varied selection which they had made when they were called upon to act on their own discretion. It would be borne in mind, however, that all the members of the Society had the privilege of recommending books for purchase by inserting their titles in the order book. It would be noticed that the Society was already beginning to be inconvenienced by its limited room for the accommodation of the library. Some remedy would doubtless be found for this inconvenience; but in the meantime it might be well occasionally to substitute collected and annotated editions of works for the scattered and tattered volumes unnecessarily occupying space in the shelves, reserving, however, all first editions of altered works which might come by-and-bye to have a peculiar interest as such. The books and pamphlets presented to the Society showed increased activity in ethnographical and statistical research in India, and scientific research in Europe and America. The last number of the Society's Journal issued from the press was a very valuable one. It was mostly filled with free and abridged translations of the Basava and Channabasava Puranas of the Lingaites, by the Rev. G. Würth, which had been communicated in manuscript to the Society by its late most zealous and considerate President, Mr. William Frere. These documents throw much light on the system of belief of the Lingaites, and of the origin of that sect, so devoted to the worship of the popular symbol of the god Shiva, to whom it subordinated the other deities of the Hindoo pantheon. Notwithstanding this subordination of these deities to Shiva, it could not be said, as had been sometimes alleged, that the Lingaites were monotheists. The legendry of their Puranas, it was also evident, is of a very extravagant and outrageous character. One conclusion to be drawn from the perusal of these Puranas was that the Caves of Elephanta belonged most probably to the Lingaites, as indicated by Mr. William Erskine, founding on the emblem worn by one of the dwarfish figures of these caves. The prominence of Ardhanarishvar, of Virabhadra, and other forms in the caves fits in with the legends of the Channabasava Purana. Mr. Harold

Smith, visiting Elephanta as a civil engineer, in connexion with one of the Bombay reclamation works, had found there a miniature steatite figure like those of the caves, and two moulds for forging coins, which appeared to him (Dr. Wilson) of a form represented in a plate in Moor's Hindoo Pantheon, as belonging to the dynasty of Vijayanagar, in the Lingaite country. The number of the Journal now in the press would not be less interesting than its predecessor, as would be admitted by all who had heard read the last extremely interesting paper of the Honourable the President on the Saurashtrian coinage, and those on other important subjects by Dr. Bhâu Daji and Dr. Bühler. The literary, as well as the financial, prospects of the Society were most encouraging ; and if no rash and inconsiderate changes were made in its practice, it would probably long continue to flourish.

After some conversation about the supply and circulation of books, the motion of the Honorary President was seconded by John Connon, Esq., and unanimously adopted.

In conformity with the Society's Rules, Art. X., the meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the Committee of Management for the year 1868-69, and the following is the list of office-bearers elected for the year 1868-69 :—

President.—The Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, C.S.

Vice-Presidents.—The Honourable Sir R. Couch, Kt.; His Excellency Lord Napier of Magdala; the Honourable Mr. Justice Tucker, C.S.; and Bhâu Daji, Esq., Hon. Mem. R.A.S.

Committee Members.—Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq.; James Taylor, Esq.; Surgeon-Major Francis Broughton, F.R.C.S.; George Bühler, Esq., Ph.D.; Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik; T. W. Ward, Esq., F.R.C.S.; the Honourable Mr. Justice Warden, C.S.; W. Loudon, Esq.; the Rev. D. Macpherson, M.A.; and H. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.A., C.S.

Auditors.—W. Loudon, Esq., and Venaykrao Jagonnathjee Sunkersett, Esq.; *Honorary Secretary*, James Taylor, Esq.

The Newspapers and Periodicals proposed to be added were then voted one by one, and the following were sanctioned to be taken by the Society :—

1. Chambers' Journal.
2. All the Year Round.
3. Once a Week.

4. Contemporary Review.
5. Trollope's Magazine.
6. Papers on Engineering, published by the College at Roorkee (quarterly.)
7. Atlantic (monthly).
8. Pratna-Kamra-Nandini, or the Hindoo Commentator; a Journal of Sanskrit Literature.
9. *Pioneer* instead of the *Mofussilite*.

At the conclusion, the best thanks of the Society were voted to the Honourable the President, for conducting the business of the Anniversary Meeting, and the meeting was then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Patron.

His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM ROBERT
SEYMOUR VESEY FITZGERALD, G.C.S.I.

Honorary President.

The Rev. JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.

President.

The Honourable Mr. JUSTICE NEWTON, C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir R. Couch, Knight.
His Excellency Lord Napier of
Magdala, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., R.E.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Tucker,
C.S.
Bháu Dají, Esq., G-G.M.C., Hon.
Member R.A.S.

Committee of Management.

Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq.
James Taylor, Esq.
George Bühler, Esq., Ph.D.
Rao Saheb Vishvanáth Náráyan
Mandlik.
T. W. Ward, Esq., F.R.C.S.
Surgeon-Major F. Broughton,
F.R.C.S.

The Honourable Mr. Justice War-
den, C.S.
W. Loudon, Esq.
The Rev. D. Macpherson, M.A.
H. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.A.,
C.S.

Auditors.

W. Loudon, Esq. Venayekráo Jagonnathjee Sunkersett, Esq.

Treasurers.

The Bank of Bombay.

Honorary Secretary.

James Taylor, Esq.

Honorary Members.

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| 1830 Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson,
London. | 1855 Rev. R. H. Th. Friederich,
Batavia, Java. |
| 1832 Mons. Garcin de Tassy,
Paris. | 1859 E. E. Elliot, Esq., Bombay
C.S., London. |
| 1835 Baron C. Hügel, Vienna. | 1860 Dr. Martin Haug. |
| „ A. S. Walne, Esq., Cairo. | 1862 H. J. Carter, Esq., F.R.S.,
late of the Bombay Me-
dical Service, London. |
| 1839 Prof. T. Pavie, Paris. | 1865 W. E. Frere, Esq., C.S.,
London. |
| 1842 N. L. Westergaard, Esq.,
K.D., Copenhagen. | 1866 Sir R. Temple, K.C.S.I.,
Calcutta. |
| „ Prof. C. Lassen, Bonn. | „ Dr. A. Weber, Berlin. |
| „ Le Marquis de Ferriere de
Vayer. | 1867 A. H. Leith, Esq., M.D.,
London. |
| 1848 Le Vicomte de Kerckhove,
Antwerp. | „ J.H. da Cunha Rivara, Esq.,
Goa. |
| „ Mr. Eugene de Kerckhove,
Antwerp. | 1868 G. C. M. Birdwood, Esq.,
M.D., London. |
| „ M. Felix Bogaerts, Antwerp. | |
| 1849 Captain Inglefield, R. N.,
London. | |
| B. Hodgson, Esq., Bengal
C.S., London. | |

Members Resident and Non-Resident.

N.B.—The marks prefixed to the name signify—

* Non-Resident Members.

† Members in Europe.

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| 1830 The Rev. John Wilson, D.D.,
F.R.S. | 1847 Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,
Bart. |
| 1840 Manockjee Cursetjee, Esq., | „ † Col. J. B. Dunsterville. |
| 1841 C. J. Erskine, Esq., C.S. | „ Manmohandas Davidás, Esq. |
| 1842 † Sir H. B. E. Frere,
G.C.S.I., K.C.B. | 1848 * Venáyek Gangádhur Shás-
tri, Esq. |
| 1844 Colonel W. R. Dickinson. | 1850 Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq. |
| 1845 The Honourable Mr. Justice
Tucker, C.S. | „ Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejee-
bhoy, Esq. |
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Raojee Rao Saheb Punt
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ram.
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